LAST KING OF HAITI

The short-lived monarchy explained

DEATH OF A SHOWMAN

Who killed Britain's great circus promoter?

ALL ABOUT HISTORY

TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

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FUTURE
ISSUE 126

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July Record Highlights*

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U.S., Newspapers.com Obituary Index, 1800s-current – **UPDATE**

Salzburg, Austria, Catholic Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1600-1930 – **UPDATE**

*Record collections subject to change.

Statues of grand masters of the Teutonic order at Malbork Castle, Poland

Welcome

The knightly orders of the crusades have taken on a mythical quality in popular culture, used by storytellers as heroes or villains depending on the narrative they're trying to tell. But few really know what their mission statements were. A few months back we delved into the world of the Templars, for instance, and talked about their foothold in the world of banking as well as their battles in the Holy Land. The Teutonic Knights are another pivotal group from this period, who oddly are best understood through their actions in Europe. What drove them and why did they turn their crusade north rather than on the Middle East?

These are some of the questions Gregory Leighton will be answering for us in our cover feature. Dr Leighton has written extensively on the Teutonic Knights and works in Toruń, the location of an important Teutonic castle in Poland. I'm delighted to welcome him as a guide to this story. This issue you can also learn about the first king of Haiti (who would also be the last), the pioneering life of American politician Harvey Milk, how Britain's greatest showman was murdered, who the lost female voices of the Renaissance were and how covert underwater actions began in WWII. And before all of that we explore the history of ballet as well. A fascinating mix of topics to kick of 2023, I hope you'll agree.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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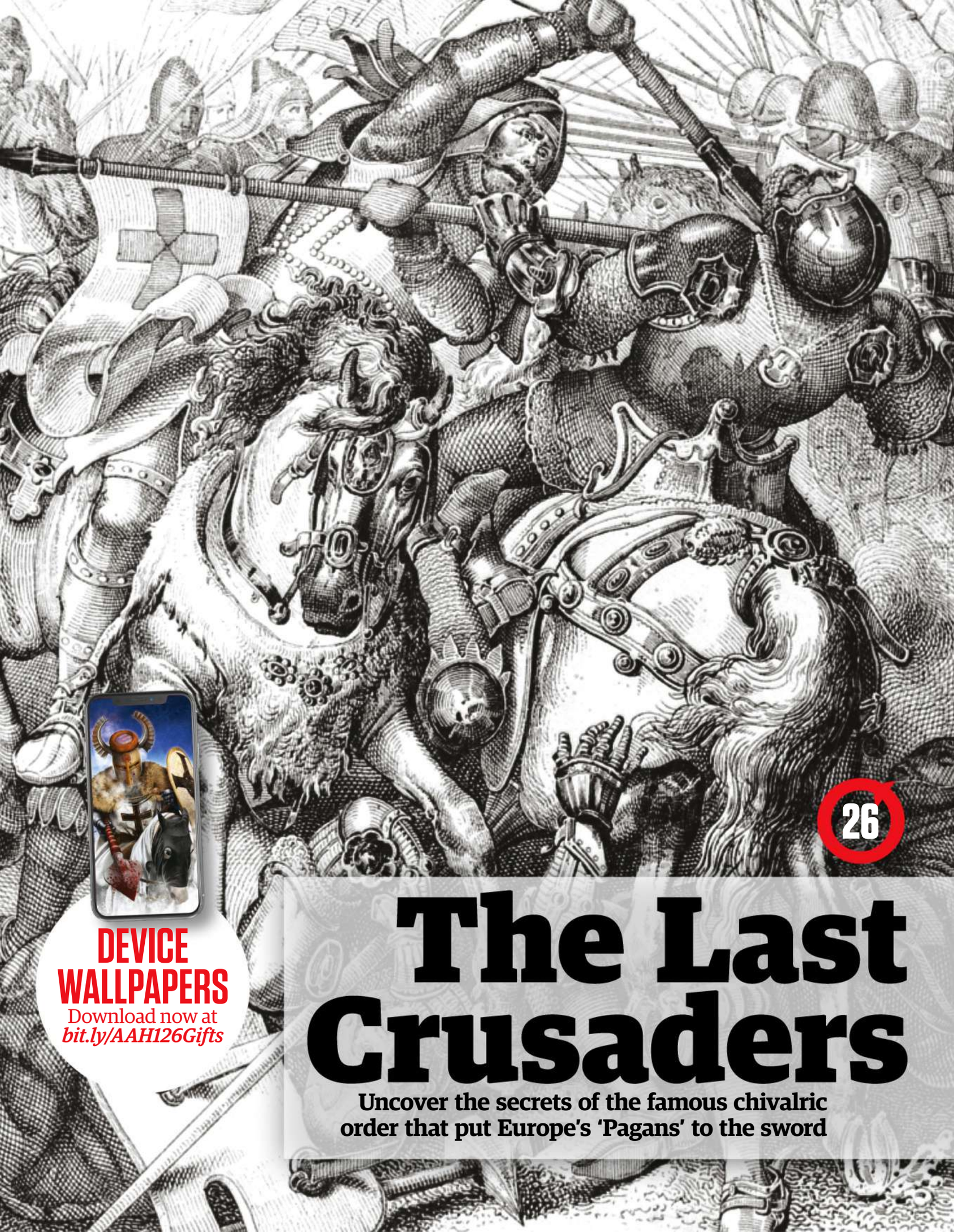

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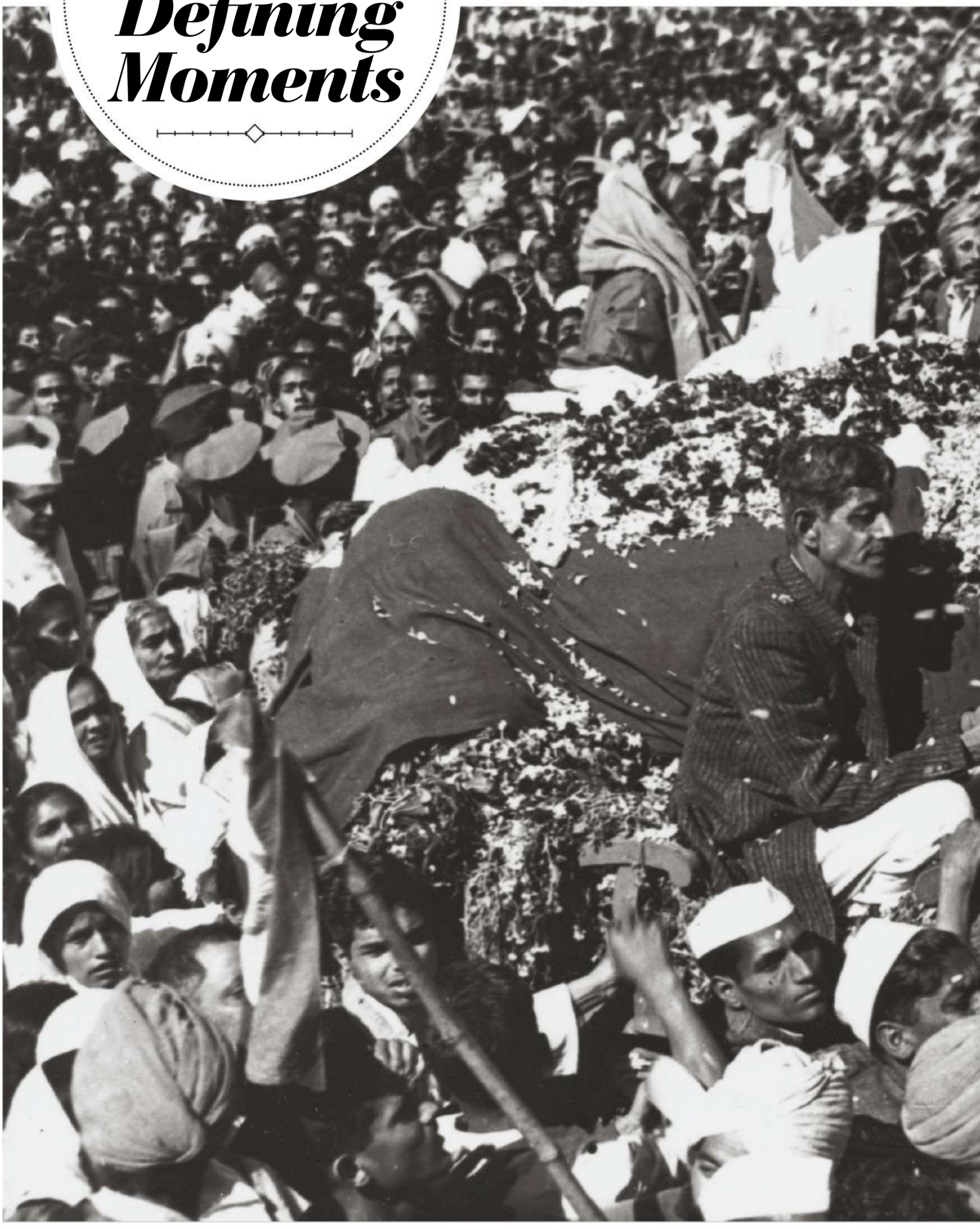
Uncover the secrets of the famous chivalric order that put Europe's 'Pagans' to the sword

Defining Moments



31 January 1948

GANDHI'S FUNERAL

Politician and activist Mahatma Gandhi, who led the non-violent campaign for India's independence from British rule, was shot at a multi-faith prayer meeting in New Delhi on 30 January 1948. His assassin, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, was a member of a Hindu paramilitary organisation who believed that Gandhi had prioritised the demands of the Muslims of British India during the partition in 1947. Gandhi's funeral took place the day after his death, and an estimated two million people attended to pay their respects.

© Getty Images

7 February 1964

THE BEATLES ARRIVE IN THE US

After reaching number 1 in the US with *I Want to Hold Your Hand*, The Beatles landed in New York for their first trip to America. Greeted by thousands of screaming fans, Beatlemania quickly took hold of the United States and opened the doors for the 'British Invasion', when British rock and roll artists thrived in America. The Beatles' performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* during this trip was watched by approximately 73 million people.

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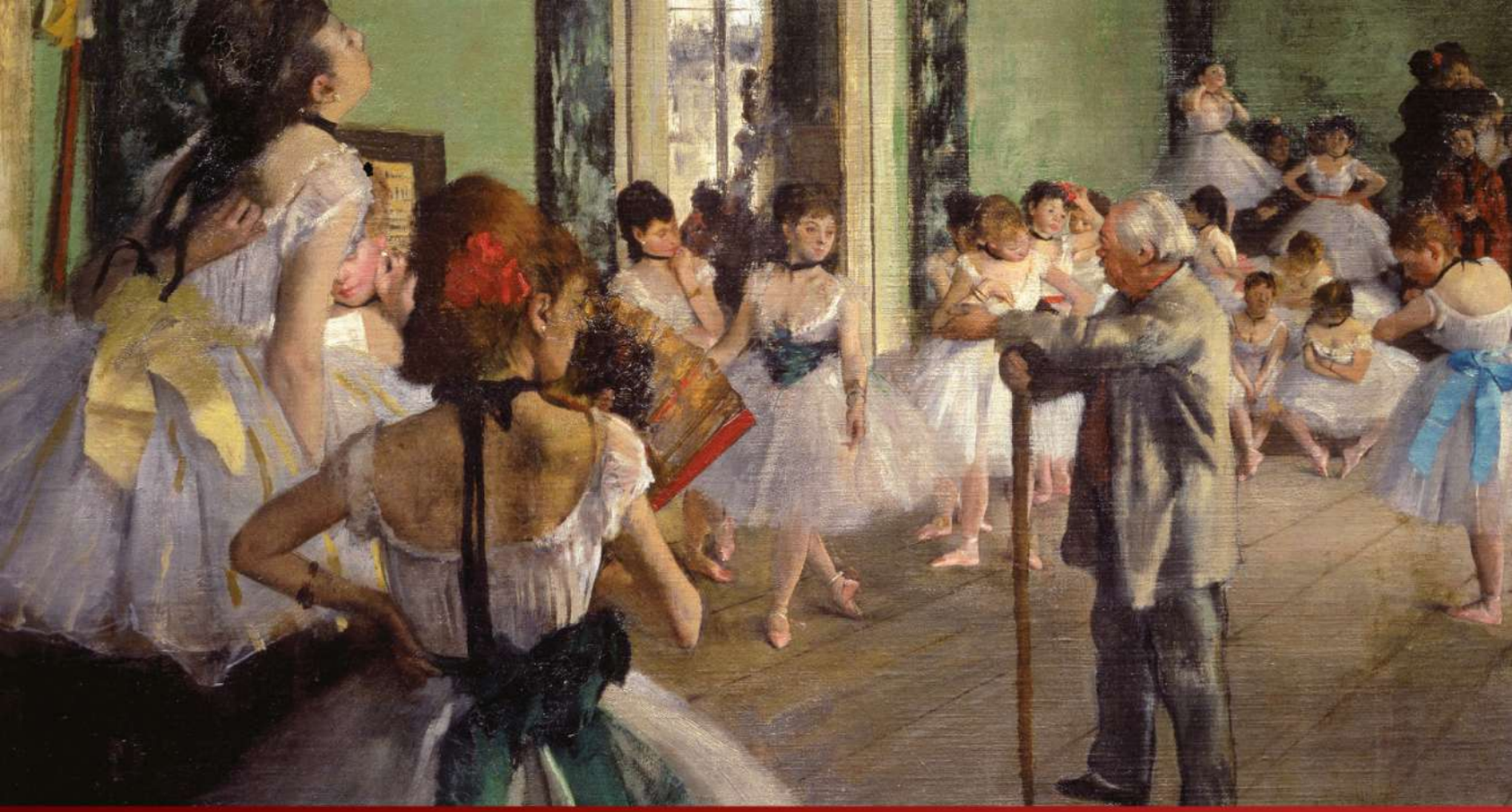

ALL ABOUT BALLET

Discover how one of the modern world's most revered art forms was born in court dances and evolved into a movement

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HISTORY OF THE BOLSHOI

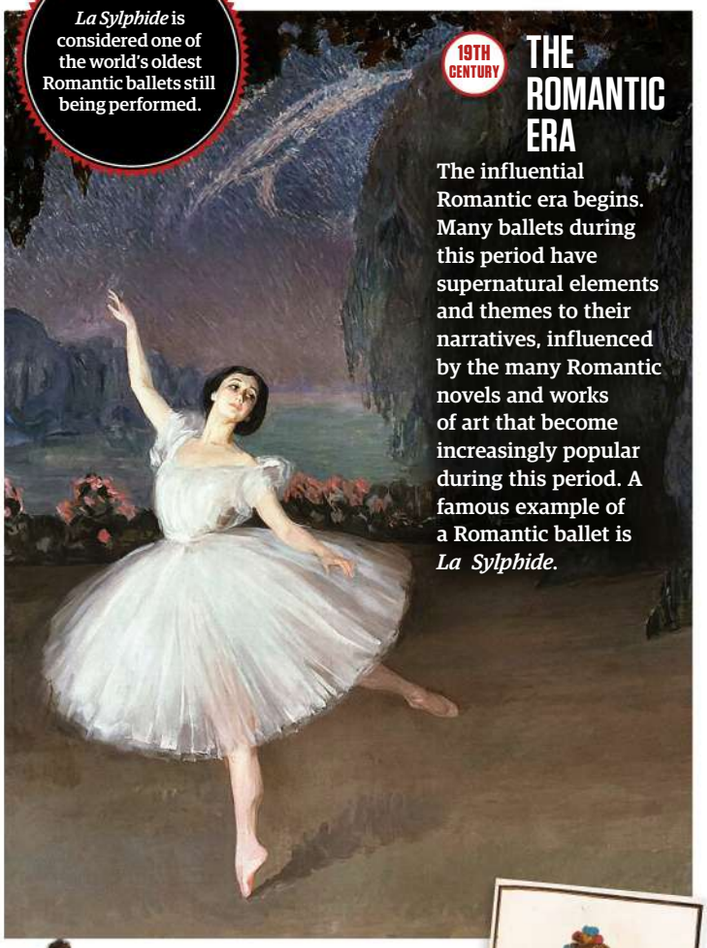
Main image: © Getty Images

Written by Jonathan Gordon, Callum McKelvie, Emily Staniforth

Key Events

1760 LETTRES SUR LA DANSE ET SUR LES BALLETS

One of the most important figures in ballet, Jean-Georges Noverre publishes his treatise, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*. In it he argues against the notions of Ballet-Opera and stresses the importance of movement to convey the narrative, a concept known as Ballet D'Action.



La Sylphide is considered one of the world's oldest Romantic ballets still being performed.

19TH CENTURY THE ROMANTIC ERA

The influential Romantic era begins. Many ballets during this period have supernatural elements and themes to their narratives, influenced by the many Romantic novels and works of art that become increasingly popular during this period. A famous example of a Romantic ballet is *La Sylphide*.

THE BIRTH OF BALLET 1581

Catherine de' Medici brings ballet to the French court with what is considered the first ballet performance: *Comique de la Reine*.

LOUIS-GUILLAUME PÉCOUR MAKES HIS DEBUT 1671

Pécour later becomes a leading dancer at the Paris Opera, creating a number of important dances for the time.

THE FIRST OPERA-BALLET 1681

Le Triomphe de l'Amour combines ballet elements with opera and sees professional dancers enter the stage of the Paris Opera for the first time.

1733 1760 19TH CENTURY

LOUIS XIV POPULARISES BALLET 1653

Louis XIV of France popularises ballet throughout his reign and is a keen dancer. He appears in *Le Ballet de la Nuit* at the age of 15.

FIRST FEMALE BALLET STAR 1681

Often considered the first female ballet star, La Fontaine's immense talent leads her to be known as 'the queen of dance'. She later retires to a convent.

CARLO BLASIS' TREATISE 1820

Carlo Blasis writes *An Elementary Treatise Upon the Theory and Practice of Art of Dancing*, setting down for the first time classical ballet technique.

1733 MARIE SALLE CREATES HER PYGAMALION

Marie Sallé is a famous ballet dancer best known for deviating from contemporary conventions to perform more emotionally charged and expressive dances. Her most famous, *Pygmalion*, is performed in a simple tunic so that she can move more freely.

1946 NEW YORK CITY BALLET FORMED

George Balanchine founds the New York City Ballet company. It gives its first public performance in 1948 after operating for two years as a private society. The company begins touring in the 1950s and from there its popularity grows. Today the company is internationally recognised.

All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

1995 MATTHEW BOURNE'S SWAN LAKE PREMIERE

British choreographer Matthew Bourne produces one of the most influential takes on Tchaikovsky's masterpiece. His version captures the public's imagination due to presenting the story as a same-sex romance between a male prince and swan. It is the longest-running ballet in London's West End.

Mathew Bourne was partly inspired to create his version of *Swan Lake* by scandals surrounding the British Royal Family.

TUTU POPULARISED 1832

Marie Taglioni wears a tutu during a performance of *La Sylphide*. Originally the tutu was much longer in length but it's shortened so the audience can admire the dancers' footwork.

ROYAL BALLET SCHOOL OPENS IN BRITAIN 1926

Ninette de Valois founds The Royal Ballet School in Britain. Still in operation today, it is the official school of the Royal Ballet, later formed in 1956.

FIRST PRINCIPAL DANCER OF COLOUR AT NEW YORK CITY BALLET 1955

Arthur Mitchell becomes the first principal dancer of colour to perform at the New York City Ballet, following Arthur Bell who was the first Black man to perform with them, in the premiere of *Illuminations* in 1950.

1946 1955 1969 1995

FIRST PRODUCTION OF THE NUTCRACKER 1892

The most famous Christmas-themed ballet, *The Nutcracker* is also Tchaikovsky's final ballet, though he himself supposedly thinks little of it.

AMERICAN BALLET THEATRE OPENS 1939

Lucia Chase and Richard Pleasant found what is now considered one of the world's leading ballet companies. The company is formed from the Mordkin Ballet theatre, eventually changing its name in 1957.

AMERICAN BALLET THEATRE'S FIRST FEMALE AFRICAN AMERICAN PRINCIPLE DANCER 2015

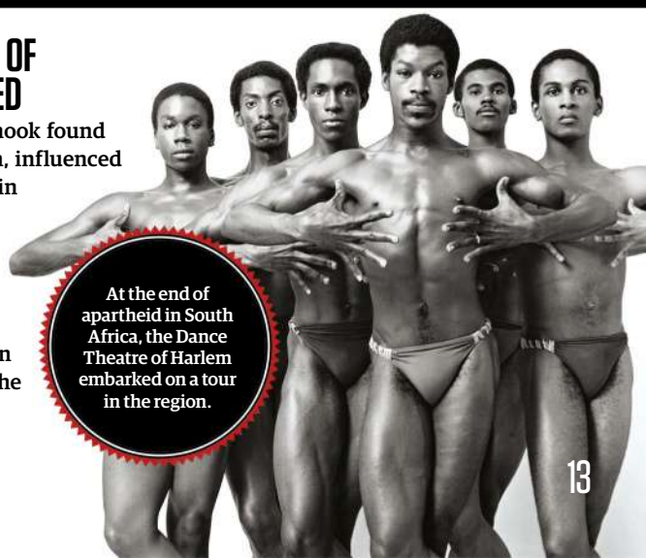
Misty Copeland, one of the greatest contemporary ballet stars, becomes the first female African American principle dancer with the American Ballet Theatre.

1955 FIRST AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMAN CONTRACTED WITH MAJOR BALLET COMPANY

Anne Raven Wilkinson becomes the first African American woman contracted to dance with one of the major American ballet companies, New York City's Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. On tour with the company in the southern states, Wilkinson receives racist abuse.

1969 DANCE THEATRE OF HARLEM FOUNDED

Arthur Mitchell and Karel Shook found the Dance Theatre of Harlem, influenced by the assassination of Martin Luther King. The company promotes diversity in dance. It makes history throughout the latter half of the 20th century, becoming the first dance company to perform in Russia following the fall of the Soviet Union.



At the end of apartheid in South Africa, the Dance Theatre of Harlem embarked on a tour in the region.

Inside History

PALAIS GARNIER

Paris, France
1875 – Present

The Paris Opera House has been the home of French ballet since at least 1875, when the company moved into the newly completed building. While it shared the space with opera performances for many years, it housed the world's first national ballet company and mostly ballet has been performed there since 1989.

The original ballet school, the Académie Royale de Danse, was established by Louis XIV in 1661 as he wanted to improve the quality of dances at the royal court. The ballet school of the Opera National de Paris was established by Louis XIV in 1713. From this period came the first professional ballerina, Mlle de La Fontaine (1665 - 1738) and Pierre Beauchamp, who was responsible for the five basic ballet feet positions, which were built upon by subsequent directors of the company.

The Palais Garnier was commissioned by Napoleon III as part of the revamp of Paris that was taking place under his rule. It was designed by the relatively unknown 35-year-old architect Charles Garnier, who beat 170 other applicants as part of an open tender for the right to create this new home to opera and ballet in the city. Construction began in 1860, but took until 1875 to complete, first because of construction issues and then because of national events. During the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), for instance, the building was used as a storage facility for the military. Then, after Napoleon III was deposed, the building's completion was in doubt, but the old Opera House burned down in 1873, adding urgency to the new building's completion.

The final building remains a stunning example of Baroque architecture that succeeds in Garnier's ultimate aim to wow those who enter it and transport them to another world. It's a worthy home to one of the oldest and most celebrated ballet companies in the world.

BACKSTAGE
Behind the stage is where all of the production work is done. From training areas to changing rooms to the seamstress rooms where all of the production costumes are custom fitted to their performers, it's all packed into this part of the building. Since the opening of the Opera Bastille in 1989, the Palais Garnier has mostly been home to ballet performances and all of the preparatory work that goes into putting on those productions.

STAGE
The stage is 62 metres high, 52 metres wide and 26 metres deep, making it the largest stage in Europe. To understand its scale, it's been said that the Arc de Triomphe could sit comfortably in the space. The stage overall could hold 450 performers at once. The whole stage is also slanted, with the rear being full metre higher than the front to aid viewing and to create a better sense of perspective for the audience.

CENTREPIECE
The entire building follows many of the tenets of Second Empire architecture and was a central piece to the redesign of Paris from 1853 to 1870 led by Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann. Like other key buildings in this development it is massive (173 metres long, 125 metres wide and 74 metres tall at its highest point) but also free-standing. The roads leading to the Palais Garnier also have no trees to make it easier to see from a distance at street level.

EMPEROR'S ENTRANCE
The Palais Garnier was originally commissioned as the le nouvel Opéra de Paris, replacing the old opera house on rue Le Peletier. In 1858, Napoleon III survived an assassination attempt as he was about the enter the old Opera House, so he commissioned the new building and insisted on a secure entrance for himself. This was placed on the west side of the building. However, Napoleon III was deposed and died before the theatre's completion. The entrance now leads to the building's library and museum.

TRICKY FOUNDATIONS
When the ground for the Opera House was being cleared, it was discovered that the 12,000 square-metres of land was swampy and on top of a subterranean lake. It took eight months for the foundations to be poured as a result as it kept flooding while attempts to complete the work pushed forward. Garnier came up with a system to drain the groundwater into a cistern to solve the problem.

GRAND ESCALIER

The main entrance to the buildings takes you to the Grand Staircase, modelled after a similar double staircase at the Bordeaux Theatre. The hall was mostly constructed from metal, but every surface has been covered in marble or gilding to make it as opulent as possible. Above the staircase is a domed ceiling decorated with classic imagery, such as the Triumph of Apollo. Under the staircase is the Bassin de la Pythie, referencing the priestess of the Temple of Apollo in Delphi.

GRAND FOYER

The main foyer of the Palais Garnier, situated just behind the loggia at the front of the building and accessed from the Grand Staircase, was modelled on the Hall of Mirrors from the Palace of Versailles. It features large mirrors along the walls with a painted ceiling by Paul Baudry that pay tribute to the history of music. In the centre sits a bust of the building's architect, Charles Garnier.

HONOURING THE PAST

The main entrance has a loggia above it, made up of seven balconies separated by eight double columns. Above each balcony is a circular alcove with a gilded bronze bust of a famous composer, including Beethoven and Mozart. Above these now sit reliefs with the initials N (for Napoleon III) and E (for Empress Eugenie). These were in the original plans, but removed during the Third Republic as the building was completed. They were restored in the 2000s during a restoration project.

AUDITORIUM

The auditorium is 60 metres from floor to ceiling and can hold about 2,000 people for a performance. Five tiers of boxes around the horseshoe design of the room are draped in red velvet, as is much of the upholstery for the room. The ceiling was most recently painted by Marc Chagall in 1964, but the chandelier was designed by Charles Garnier, weighs 7,000kg and holds 340 lights.

SECOND EMPIRE

Both the facade and inside design of the Palais Garnier follow what's known as the Second Empire or Napoleon III, Second Empire Baroque style. This was a movement from the later half of the 19th century that embraced classic Renaissance styles. Many famous public buildings in France, but also globally, are built on these ideas with features such as columns and prominent statues of ancient gods or legends.

Illustration by Adrian Mann
Inset images: © Getty Images

Anatomy

LOUIS XIV AS APOLLO

Tuileries Palace, Paris 1653-70

RAYS OF APOLLO

Probably the standout feature of Louis XIV's Apollo costume, other than its dazzling gold and jewelled fabrics, would have been this elaborate headdress with rays to denote the sun god status of his character. Ostrich feathers would have added greater volume overall and would likely have helped to accentuate movements of the head.

WEARING A MASK

While it's not clear if Louis XIV would have worn a mask for his court performances or not, it was very common for court ballet performers to do so. This would be done by both male and female performers and would typically be made of leather, featuring classic dramatic expressions of happiness or sadness to identify their roles.

TONNELET

It was typical for male dancers in this era to wear a tonnelet (meaning keg in French, representing the barrel shape) as an overshirt for ballet performances. Like the rest of the material for Louis' costume, this was made of gold brocade silk and inset with precious stones, which would have reflected back light impressively.

MODERN RECREATION

Our design is based partially on a reconstruction of Louis XIV's costume from 1969 made by David Walker for the Royal Ballet. It was done as part of the Ballet For all educational programme for a production of *The Twelfth Rose*. However, it didn't use all authentic materials, since silks and jewels would've been prohibitively expensive. Instead reflective materials and costume jewellery were used; just as effective under stage lighting.

SKIRT

In early ballet it was the men who wore short, floating skirts that look more like the ballet tutu as we understand them today. Originally, women would have worn skirts similar to typical court dress, which only began to be shortened in the 18th century. This 'tutu' would be wired to help it stand out and give the impression of the dancer floating in the air.

BREECHES

While designed as a costume for dance, the ballet clothing of this era was still sticking to the fashion of court dress, if a little more elaborate. As such, breeches were still worn by men. As women's ballet dress evolved this silhouette for the legs would also be embraced, moving to tights for both men and women.

HEELED SHOES

Heeled shoes were worn for dancing during this period. Heeled boots were very fashionable, having travelled from West Asia into Europe as riding boots. Louis XIV is known to have worn heels 5–12cm in height, often red, which was a popular colour at the time. For the ballet his shoes would have been more elaborate than normal, with brocades and silks to accentuate them.

Illustration by Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

LITTLE DANCER AGED FOURTEEN

An expressive statue from a master of ballet imagery

France, 1880

French artist Edgar Degas (1834 – 1917) is well known for his paintings of ballerinas, as well as depictions of everyday Parisian life. The Impressionist artist left a lasting legacy of work, with one of the most striking pieces being *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen*, a sculpture of a dancer. The piece is notable for a number of reasons, both artistically and historically.

Degas first gained access to the ballet world through his friend Jules-Joseph Perrot, a ballet choreographer who worked with the Paris Opera. Starting out with sketches and paintings, Degas had found ballet images to be lucrative, which explains why he produced so many. Many are fully Expressionist in their depiction of dance, capturing the movement and colour of the routines. Some were more realistic, including showing the dark-suited patrons of some of the young dancers who Degas would have seen lingering around the rehearsal spaces. This is something of the darker side of Parisian ballet, and life in general, that Degas wasn't afraid to confront in his work, which feeds into this sculpture.

The *Little Dancer* is a three-quarter height model of a young trainee dancer from the Paris Opera Ballet, Marie Van Goethem, who came from a relatively humble background and had modelled for Degas from 1878. It was precisely dancers like herself, expected to bring money back to their families, who would have needed the patronage of wealthy Parisians. Unusually for the time, it was made primarily of wax over a wire armature and then dressed in real ballet clothes and a wig, giving it an unerring realism.

However, reviews were mixed when it was shown at an Impressionist exhibition in 1881. Some called it ugly, thinking the girl unworthy of depiction, perhaps because of her humble background. The materials used might also have been thought of as humble compared to other works of the time, closer to a waxwork at Madame Tussauds. As a result of the criticism, Degas would not display another of his sculptures in his lifetime.

What ultimately became of Degas' model is not known. Van Goethem was apparently dismissed from the dance school not long after the statue was displayed for missing too many classes. Records of her disappear after that point, although one of her sisters, Charlotte van Goethem, did have a career with the Paris Opera Ballet in the years that followed.

WAXWORK

The original sculpture was made from tinted beeswax and dressed with real fabrics for the tutu, slippers and bodice. It even used real human hair for the wig. All of these were then covered in wax. After Degas' death, his family recast the statue in bronze, making a number of replicas.

BALLET RAT

The model for the sculpture was Marie van Goethem, a student dancer at the Paris Opera Ballet who had previously modelled for Degas for paintings and sketches. Marie was from a working class family, with a tailor father and laundress mother from Belgium. Dancers of such backgrounds were known as 'petits rats de l'opéra', or opera rats.

POORLY RECEIVED

The sculpture was shown at the Sixth Impressionist Exhibition in 1881, largely organised by Degas himself. Some of the fallout from his management (he wanted more realists at the exhibition and fell out with fellow organiser Gustave Caillebotte who wanted fewer) may explain why some critics were highly critical of the *Little Dancer*.

TENSE POSE

The dancer is shown in fourth position, holding a tense pose with her arms behind her back. The tension of holding this position is visible in how Degas has captured her physically, but also somewhat in her face. There remains much debate as to why Degas chose this pose, perhaps as a critique of the harsh training conditions of dancers? Or perhaps to show the dancer's fortitude?

All images © Alamy

BEAUTIFUL BALLET DANCERS

Some of the artists and performers who have left an indelible mark on the world of ballet

Nureyev and Fonteyn formed a partnership at the Royal Ballet Company in London and together they became international stars.

VASLAV NIJINSKY

POLISH, 1889 – 1950

Vaslav Nijinsky gave his first performance with the Mariinsky Theatre in St Petersburg in 1907. He quickly became a success and entered the company of Sergei Diaghilev to travel to Paris. As Diaghilev's pupil (and lover), Nijinsky thrived in France and became a cultural sensation. He married his wife in 1913, and was sacked by Diaghilev. Nijinsky set up his own company in London but after a week suffered from a mental breakdown, diagnosed as schizophrenia.

Rudolf Nureyev

Russian, 1938-93

Born on a train in Siberia, Rudolf Nureyev would become one of history's most famous and respected ballet dancers. At the age of 17 he attended the Vaganova Choreographic Institute, a ballet school in Leningrad, then joined the Kirov Ballet in 1958, earning himself a reputation as a phenomenal dancer. While on tour in 1961, Nureyev sought asylum in Paris after defecting from the Soviet Union. He continued to perform around the world, eventually becoming artistic director of Paris Opera Ballet in 1983. Nureyev died at 54 years old from AIDS, and is credited with making male ballet dancers stars in their own right.

Margot Fonteyn

English, 1919-91

Margaret Hookham, who changed her name to Margot Fonteyn, was one of Britain's most celebrated ballerinas. She was scouted by Ninette de Valois and given a place at the Vic-Wells Ballet School where she made her debut with the Vic-Wells Company (later the Royal Ballet) at the age of 15. When prima ballerina Alicia Markova left the company, Fonteyn quickly rose through the ranks and was eventually made prima ballerina. Fonteyn also collaborated with choreographers Frederick Ashton and Robert Helpmann to produce some of ballet's greatest works. Towards the end of her career she unexpectedly partnered with the young Rudolf Nureyev.

Ninette de Valois

Irish-British, 1898-2001

Born Edris Stannus in County Wicklow, Ireland, Ninette de Valois changed her name when she began to study ballet as a child. After being trained by some of ballet's biggest names, de Valois joined the Ballets Russes and was tutored by Sergei Diaghilev, becoming a leading soloist. After moving to Britain, de Valois realised her dream of starting her own ballet company when a partnership with Lilian Baylis, who managed the Old Vic and Sadler's Wells theatres in London, led to the establishment of the Vic-Wells Ballet company. Vic-Wells later became Sadler's Wells Ballet and eventually the Royal Ballet.

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LOUIS MÉRANTE
FRENCH, 1828-87

Louis Mérante was born in Paris and made his debut as a dancer at a young age. After first being employed at the Marseille Opera, he returned to Paris to be tutored in ballet by Lucien Petipa. His talent saw him take on leading roles in several performances for the Paris Opera, and he later went on to choreograph his own pieces for the stage. In 1853 he was made the Paris Opera's ballet master.

Anna Pavlova
Russian, 1881 – 1931

Arguably the most influential and well-known ballerina of all time, Anna Pavlova trained at the Imperial Theatre School in St Petersburg. She began her career at the Mariinsky Ballet in 1898 and became prima ballerina in 1906. Pavlova, dancing the choreography of Mikhail Fokine, was the first ballerina to perform the iconic solo of *The Dying Swan*, a piece she would go on to perform around 4,000 times. In 1913 Pavlova established her own company and toured the world. She contracted pneumonia while abroad and refused life-saving surgery as having it would have meant she could never dance again.

Anna Pavlova's last words, reported by her husband, were a request for her swan costume.

MARIE TAGLIONI SWEDISH, 1804-84

Marie Taglioni was one of the most distinguished European Romantic ballerinas of the 19th century. Her father, Filippo, was a choreographer and dancer who invented the Romantic style and he trained Marie as a dancer. Dancing in *La Sylphide* in Paris (1832) Taglioni was the first ballerina to dance on the points of her toes. She along with other female ballet dancers of the time were idolised in Europe's "cult of the ballerina".

MIKHAIL FOKINE
RUSSIAN, 1880 – 1942

Dancing at the Imperial Theatre School from the age of nine, Mikhail Fokine became the premier danseur at the Mariinsky Ballet in 1904. He joined Sergei Diaghilev's company in Paris in 1909 and after leaving there began to choreograph in Europe on a freelance basis. As a dancer and choreographer, Fokine created over 60 works of ballet and established his own company in America. One of his most famous ballets was *Don Juan*.

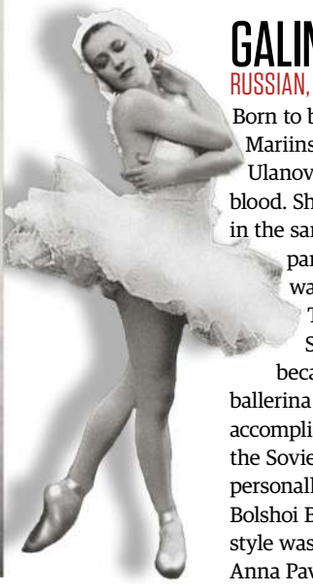
Arthur Mitchell
American, 1934 – 2018

Mitchell established the Dance Theatre of Harlem in 1969 to provide a space for ballet dancers of all backgrounds to train and perform.

In 1955, Arthur Mitchell became the first African American principal dancer in the New York City Ballet. Having attended the High School for Performing Arts in Manhattan, Mitchell was subsequently offered a scholarship to the School of American Ballet in New York. He was invited to join the City Ballet while still a student and made his debut in *Western Symphony*: he reported hearing gasps from the audience when he walked on stage for the first time. City Ballet's artistic director, George Balanchine, choreographed the first interracial ballet duet, the *Agon* pas de deux, for Mitchell and his white dance partner.

GALINA ULANOVA
RUSSIAN, 1910-98

Born to ballet dancers at the Mariinsky Ballet, Galina Ulanova had ballet in her blood. She grew up to perform in the same company as her parents (although it was called the Kirov Theatre during the Soviet era). Ulanova became the first prima ballerina assoluta (a highly accomplished ballerina) of the Soviet Union and was personally transferred to the Bolshoi Ballet by Stalin. Her style was based on that of Anna Pavlova.



Q&A

ART AND POLITICS AT THE BOLSHOI BALLET

Professor Simon Morrison guides us through the history of one of Russia's most enduring and illustrious cultural institutions

Under what circumstances was the Bolshoi Ballet company first established?

The Bolshoi Ballet came into existence at the end of the 18th century when a Russian prince and an English entertainer obtained rights from Empress Catherine the Great to open a public playhouse in Moscow. At that time, the only theatres in Moscow were operated by aristocrats exploiting the talents of serfs. Boys and girls of the Moscow Imperial Foundling Home took the stage as participants in light entertainment. The playhouse burned down and was rebuilt with government funding as an Imperial Theatre.

The Bolshoi only became the Bolshoi – a symbol of Russia itself – after the Napoleonic invasion of 1812. From the 1830s onwards, it produced a plethora of superb performers and content that resonated with national concerns. The ballet struggled at times, however, and the government almost liquidated it in the 1860s with the dancers from the exploited poorer classes facing life as laundresses, mill workers or prostitutes – even starvation on the streets. The Bolshoi Ballet survived and turned its own terrible experiences into deeply humane performances and productions.

What factors define the style of the Bolshoi Ballet?

Bolshoi dancers are often stereotyped for their athletic prowess, yet they are also storytellers and gifted mimes. The first great ballerinas of the 19th century were trained by actors, and the admixture of dance-free miming and plot-free dance persisted at the Bolshoi long after it had been abandoned elsewhere. Their showiness reflected the influence of Italian choreographic idioms, as opposed to the French classicism that generally characterised the dancing in St Petersburg's Mariinsky Theatre.

The Bolshoi has always depended on government financing from Russia's empresses, emperors, Soviet rulers and the current presidential administration. Ballet serves a dual purpose as an emblem of cultured enlightenment and of hierarchical, top-down government. In the 19th century, state sponsorship allowed for the development of grand ballets that had everything: the erotic, the exotic, the fantastic. In Marius Petipa's ballets for the Imperial Theatres, dramatic coherence mattered less than choreographic logic. The pas d'action conveyed important plot points, while the lead couple danced the grand pas de deux and the prima ballerina showcased her skills with bravura variations. Within the corps de ballet, abstract patterns began to suggest something beyond the story, or even beyond the human, with geometry a portal to the divine. Some of his ballets, however, had a chaotic, free-for-all quality as evidenced by the original Bolshoi Theatre version of his *Don Quixote*.

After the Russian Revolution, ballet became coarsely political, promoting communist ideas with easy-to-understand pantomime and simple steps. Later, symphonic ballets became the norm, as evidenced by Yuri Grigorovich's still-popular 1968 ballet about a slave revolt in Ancient Rome: *Spartacus*. In recent years, the

Simon Morrison is a professor in the Department of Music at Princeton University. As a cultural historian he specialises in 20th century Russian and Soviet music with expertise in ballet and opera. He is the author of *Bolshoi Confidential: Secrets of the Russian Ballet from the Rule of the Tsars to Today* (WW Norton & Co, 2016).

RIGHT
Inside the Bolshoi Theatre, Moscow

Photo courtesy of: Sameer Khan

Bolshoi has commissioned ballets based on great works of literature – Anton Chekhov, Mikhail Lermontov, William Shakespeare – and assigned them to experimental directors.

Can you tell us about some of the defining moments in the history of the Bolshoi Ballet?

The Bolshoi's defining moments are both glorious (the coronation of Tsar Alexander III) and horrible (a double suicide on stage during a performance of *The Red Poppy*). The 1877 premiere of *Swan Lake* was a fiasco. There was too much water on the stage and the prince's love for a swan with a crown on her head seemed absurd. Understanding nothing of what he saw, a reviewer reduced *Swan Lake* to a single sentence: "There were dances with and without flowers, and dances with and without ribbons." Now it's an inescapable classic, providing rich material for feminist critiques and Freudian analysis, and often interpreted as a parable about ballet itself – the softness of its materials, its fragile performers, the fact that the ballerina dies if she fails to break free, if she adheres to the rhythms of the score rather than generating her own, if she repeats phrases rather than developing them.

Who are some of the historic stars of the Bolshoi Ballet?

In the 19th century the brightest star on the Bolshoi stage was Ekaterina Sankovskaya, who inspired a generation of intellectuals through her freedom of expression and expression of freedom. She performed from the late 1830s into the 1850s, and was seen by her most ardent fans, including liberal students of Moscow University, to imitate and rival the illustrious European Romantic ballerinas Marie Taglioni and Fanny Elssler. Her appearances in *La Sylphide* inspired a sycophantic cult following, a 'claque' whose obsession with Sankovskaya, and ballet in general, worried the Moscow police. Other great Bolshoi dancers of the era included Anna Sobeshchanskaya, a superb actress and technician who carried the repertoire on her shoulders in the 1870s; and Lidiya Geyten, who possessed enchanting mannerisms and a filigreed technique.

Maya Plisetskaya was the vessel of Bolshoi bravura during the Soviet years. She was a deeply passionate artist and an eccentric, explosive performer who moved in and out of official favour. Critics were baffled by her iconoclasm. She could be reckless on the stage but also mesmerising, possessing a physical vocabulary that ranged from toreador moving in for a kill to fashion model on the catwalk. In her twenties and thirties Plisetskaya gravitated toward the bad girls of the repertoire, the troublemakers, but also the free spirits. Cynicism fuelled sedition, but she never tried to leave the Soviet Union and largely confined her protests to unorthodox performances. Current stars like Svetlana Zakharova 'speak' from the script Plisetskaya provided to them.

ABOVE
Maya Plisetskaya as Odette in *Swan Lake*

ABOVE-INSET
Catherine the Great was a patron of the arts

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HISTORIC BALLET VENUES

Five famous performance spaces that have played a key role in the evolution of ballet

1 DAVID H KOCH THEATER
NEW YORK CITY, UNITED STATES

The David H Koch Theater was first opened in April 1964 and was commissioned by the State of New York to be part of that year's World's Fair. Originally it was known as The New York State Theater and it was only in 2008 when businessman and philanthropist David H Koch pledged $100 million to the theatre that it was renamed in his honour. Part of the Lincoln Center, it was designed as a venue for ballet and various other dance forms. It has since become the home of the New York City Ballet and regularly hosts its performances.

The Koch Theater has the capacity to seat some 2,544. The theatre's lobby includes an impressive number of unique artworks, designed to explore the world of ballet. According to the New York City Ballet, many of these pieces were suggested by the famous choreographer George Balanchine. The theatre was designed by the architects Philip Johnson and John Burgee. When Johnson was questioned about his use of travertine stone throughout the building, in reference to St Peter's Basilica he replied: "I felt that if it was good enough for God it was good enough for us!"

One of the impressive building's more unique features is the ceiling of the promenade, which is made out of 18-carat gold leaf.

Details of upcoming events and performances can be found at www.davidhkochtheater.com

Architect Phillip Johnson with a model of the Koch Theater

© Getty Images

2 THE ROYAL OPERA HOUSE
LONDON, UK

The Royal Opera House in Covent Garden, London

The current Royal Opera House is actually the third theatre to be built on this site. The first was constructed by the actor and manager John Rich and opened in 1732. In 1808, however, the building was destroyed in a fire, but rather than let the site go unoccupied, work immediately commenced on rebuilding it. The second theatre opened just a year later but in 1856 this too was destroyed by fire.

The present building was first opened in 1858 and became the Royal Opera house in 1892. Throughout World War II it was transformed into a dance hall and there was some consideration of having it remain one following the end of hostilities. However, in 1946 the building was purchased by a music publisher and the renowned Sadler's Wells Ballet company became the resident organisation. Since then it has become the home of both The Royal Opera as well as The Royal Ballet.

When the building was reopened in 1946, The Royal Ballet was given the honour of putting on the first performance, a version of Tchaikovsky's T*he Sleeping Beauty*. In 1956 Sadler's Wells was given the Royal Charter and renamed as The Royal Ballet. The building received its most recent renovation in 2018 and still hosts breathtaking ballet performances.

Details of upcoming events and performances can be found at www.roh.org.uk

The interior of the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow

3 BOLSHOI THEATRE
MOSCOW, RUSSIA

The Bolshoi Theatre is the home of the State Academic Bolshoi Theatre, Russia's primary producer of opera and ballet. The building has its origins in a private theatre constructed by Prince Peter Urusov. However, this was destroyed and in 1780 the Bolshoi Theatre was constructed in order to house the company. The building now at the site is not the original, in fact it has been rebuilt twice after two fires in 1805 and 1825 respectively. Following the Russian Revolution in 1917 the company was not disbanded and continued throughout the Soviet period and into the present day. The theatre underwent a major series of renovations between 2005 and 2011.

The Bolshoi Theatre has a long and distinguished ballet history, hosting the premiere of *Swan Lake* in 1877 as well as other works such as *The Voyevoda* and Sergei Rachmaninoff's *Aleko*. After 1840, many important international works were also performed at the site.

For more information on the Bolshoi Theatre, visit www.bolshoi.ru/en

4 VIENNA STATE OPERA HOUSE
VIENNA, AUSTRIA

The Vienna State Opera House opened in May 1869

Arguably one of the most famous venues for classical opera and ballet, the Vienna State Opera House opened on 25 May 1869. The exterior of the opera house was designed by the architect August Sicard von Sicardsburg and the interior by his friend Eduard van der Nüll. However, neither man would live to see the building completed: Sicardsburg suffering a heart attack a few days after van der Nüll had killed himself.

Ballet has been a part of the Opera House's history since its very beginnings. Upon its opening in 1869 the first production staged was a version of P Taglioni's *Sardanapal*. The Vienna State Opera was heavily damaged during bombing in 1945, with only the main facade, the grand staircase and the Schwind Foyer remaining intact. The extensive renovations would take ten years to complete, and the venue finally reopened on 5 November 1955 with a new auditorium and modern technology.

Details of upcoming events and performances can be found at www.wiener-staatsoper.at/en/staatsoper/the-opera-house/

5 TEATRO ALLA SCALA
MILAN, ITALY

Until February 1776 the home of opera in Milan had been the Royal Ducal Theatre. When this was destroyed by fire, Empress Maria Theresa ordered the construction of the Teatro Alla Scala to replace it. Nearly 100 years later in 1872, the Scala became the property of the city of Milan.

As with many other opera houses in Europe the building suffered damage during the air raids of World War II; it was rebuilt, reopening in 1946. The noted Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini was the first to play there, presenting a breathtaking concert. Between 2002 and 2004 the building again underwent an extensive renovation programme.

La Scala has both a ballet company and ballet school that are associated with it. The former has a long history preceding the construction of the theatre in 1776. One of the key figures in the company's history is Aurel Milloss, who brought the company into wider recognition following the end of World War II and invited international artists such as the ballet choreographer George Balanchine to work with him.

Details of upcoming events and performances can be found at www.teatroallascala.org/en

The breathtaking interior of the Teatro Alla Scala

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TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

THE LAST CRUSADERS

Uncover the secrets of the famous chivalric order that put Europe's 'Pagans' to the sword

Written by Gregory Leighton

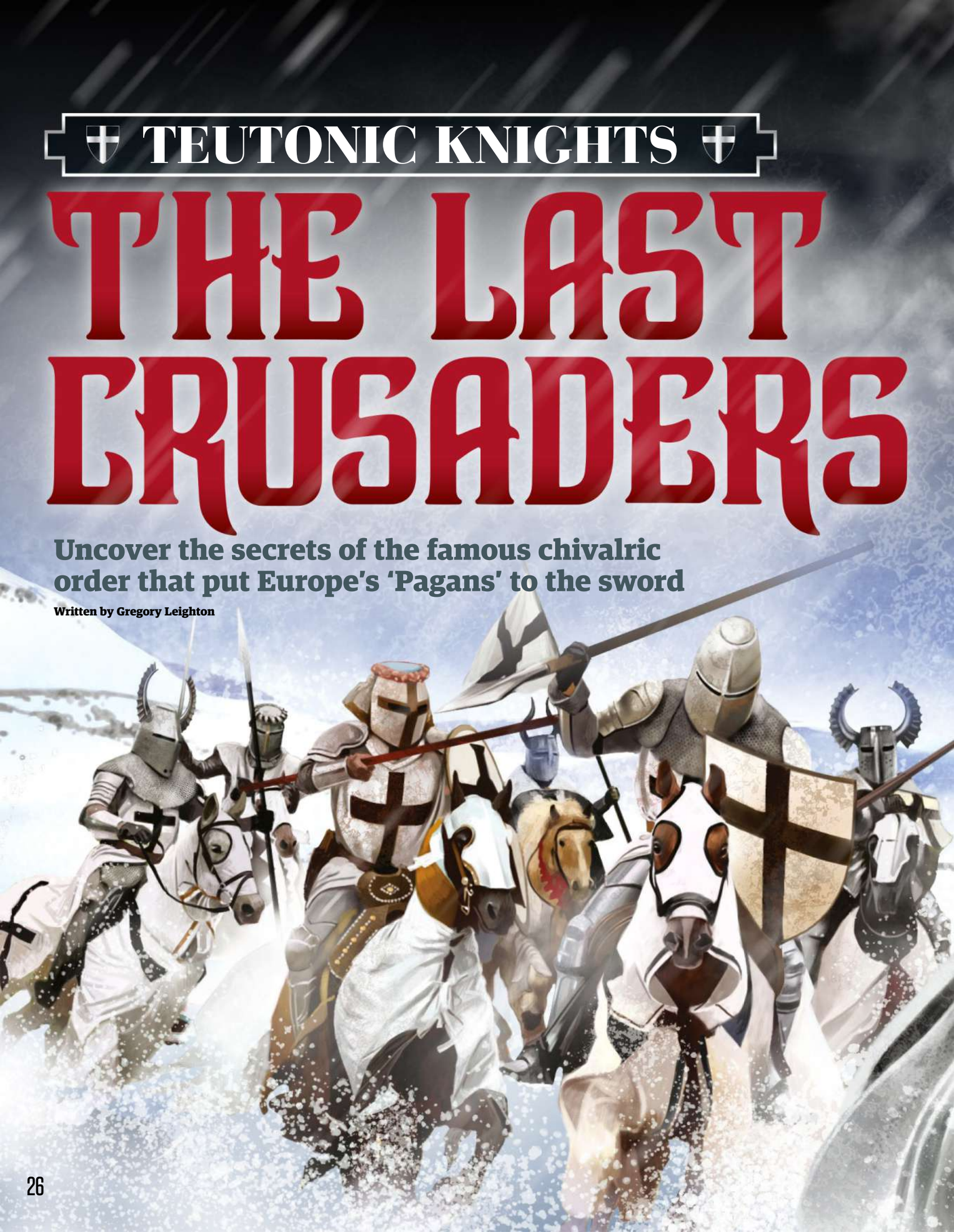

Illustration by Joe Cummings

TEUTONIC TIMELINE

Key events in the evolution of this crusader order

1190-98
A Crusading Order

German knights establish a field hospital at the Siege of Acre during the Third Crusade, and Pope Innocent III officially sanctions them as the Teutonic Order in 1198.

1226-74
Prussian Crusade

The Order is invited by Polish princes to Christianise the pagan Prussians, who inhabit what are now the Baltic states. Teutonic knights quash several Prussian uprisings and eventually establish control of Prussia with the establishment of a monastic state.

1228-29
Sixth Crusade

The Teutonic Order supports Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, when he invades Palestine. The crusaders manage to recapture Jerusalem through diplomatic means, and Teutonic knights escort Frederick for a political 'coronation' at Jerusalem's Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

5 April 1242
Battle on the Ice

Teutonic attempts to convert Orthodox Christians of Novgorod to Catholicism dramatically fail. Prince Alexander Nevsky wins a famous battle against the knights on the frozen Lake Peipus.

The Order of the Teutonic Knights (known officially as The Order of the German House of St Mary in Jerusalem) is a charitable institution that remains active today. As indicated by its full name, it was primarily composed of German knights. The Order's origins are directly linked to the time of the Crusades to the Holy Land, when it was first established as a charitable order around 1190, during the time of the Third Crusade (1188–92).

However, it should be made clear that its members were not 'crusaders', but rather the members of a monastic corporation. They took lifelong vows of poverty and chastity, as opposed to the temporary vow made by those who journeyed on crusade.

In any case, the knights and their activities in the Middle Ages were strongly linked to the development of the crusade phenomenon. The Teutonic Knights entered a world already dominated by two (perhaps) more well-known brotherhoods: the Knights Templar and the Knights of St John, also known as the Hospitallers. The Templars' history has since crossed into a quasi-mythical realm, primarily due to their disbandment in the early 14th century. By contrast, the Hospitallers still remain active. The white cross of the St John's Ambulance Cadets seen throughout the United Kingdom today is a reminder of the Order's history. By 1198, its prestige had increased to such an extent that the Order was militarised by Pope Innocent III. It took a monastic rule that combined the martial duties of the Templars (defending the holy places and protect pilgrims visiting them) in addition to the Hospitaller obligations of the Order of St John.

As a kind of 'younger brother' to those two great military orders, the Teutonic Knights experienced a rapid rise in the

LEFT The Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem was founded in 1190

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1283 – 1410
Lithuanian Crusade
The Teutonic and Livonian Orders launch a series of campaigns to convert the last European pagan state – the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – to Catholicism. The duchy eventually converts to Christianity in 1386.

15 July 1410
Battle of Grunwald
The Order suffers its greatest defeat, at Grunwald, against a Polish-Lithuanian army. The battle ends Teutonic expansion along the southeastern coast of the Baltic Sea and marks the beginning of its decline in power.

1431-35
Polish-Teutonic War
The Teutonic Order invades the Kingdom of Poland in 1431, but the Poles and their Czech Hussite allies repeatedly defeat them. The Polish victory against the Livonian Order at the Battle of Wilkomierz in 1435 is considered to be a second Grunwald.

10 April 1525
Prussian Homage
The crusader state of the Teutonic Order formally ends when the grand master of the Teutonic Knights is invested as duke of Prussia in fief to King Sigismund I of Poland.

Holy Land. Throughout the 13th century it quickly increased its power in the region. The election of Hermann of Salza as grand master in 1209 marked a significant milestone in the Order's history, particularly in terms of its international relations. It began receiving grants of land in the city of Acre and fortifications in the Holy Land, and fielded soldiers in major military encounters like the capture of Damietta in Egypt in 1219 and the catastrophic defeat experienced by the Christians at La Forbie in 1244.

It was also during Salza's tenure that the Teutonic Knights emerged as an institution whose horizons began to expand beyond the defence of the Holy Land and the protection of the holy places. His navigation of complex political relationships between the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, securing support for his young order from both parties, is a testament to Salza's diplomatic prowess. Houses of the Order popped up in Armenia, Spain, Italy and throughout Germany.

In 1211, they were summoned to the Kingdom of Hungary by Andrew II (r.1205–1235) to defend his borders against the non-Christian Cuman tribes. They were eventually expelled in 1225 due to clashes with the Hungarian king. Though brief, the 'Transylvanian episode' marks the first time that the Teutonic Knights were summoned to participate in protective operations against non-Christians. Such duties would become a key component of the Teutonic Order's history from the 13th century and into the 16th.

IN THE BALTIC

In the year following the Order's expulsion from Hungary, a pivotal event occurred that would come to define the Order's history and its reception: Konrad, Duke of Mazovia (r.1149 – 1247) in north-central Poland summoned the brothers of the Order to defend his borders against systematic raids by the Prussian tribes.

Following papal and imperial confirmations of Konrad's donation, the Order quickly began consolidating itself in the region. The knights incorporated its predecessors in both Livonia and Prussia almost immediately upon their arrival. These predecessors were fledgling local orders that we might compare to those that developed on the Iberian Peninsula in the 12th century. The first was called the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, founded in 1201, and the second were known as the Knights of Christ at Dobrin (or Dobrzyń). The consolidation of these two orders resulted in the creation of two 'branches' of the Teutonic Knights: one in Prussia and one in Livonia, each headed by a provincial master.

"THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS EXPERIENCED A RAPID RISE IN THE HOLY LAND"

Heinrich Walpot von Bassenheim was grand master from 1198 to 1208

A wave of conquests commenced with the Order's early days in Prussia, which resulted in the foundation of key fortresses that would later develop into an extensive network of castles and towns. These foundations included Thorn (or Toruń) in 1231, Marienwerder (or Kwidzyn) in 1234, and Elbing (or Elbląg) in 1239 (among others). An anonymous report of this first wave of conquests, attributed to Hermann of Salza himself but written more likely around 1249, describes these foundations and the early success of the Order "and pilgrims [ie crusaders], who were sent through God's grace". The crusade phenomenon had arrived and planted itself firmly in the southern Baltic shores, with the knights of the Teutonic Order emerging as the most powerful organisation in the area and subject only to the pope.

To the north, in Livonia, the Teutonic Knights found themselves in a slightly different situation. This is primarily due to the pre-existing power structure and administration of the territory set up in the early 13th century. The territories received by the Teutonic Knights in Livonia were those that had already been possessed by the Sword Brothers. The division of powers in the region involved the Bishops of Riga possessing two-thirds of the conquered lands, with the Order receiving the remaining third. This created considerable tension between the Order and the church in the region, which was marked throughout the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries as a period of conflict and cooperation.

The 13th century in both Prussia and Livonia saw a significant number of key military events that shaped the history of the Teutonic Order. These include two uprisings in Prussia led by rebels and ultimately quelled by the Order, the first being from 1242-49 and the second from 1260-74, in addition to a significant defeat of the Order at the Battle of Durben (or Durbe) in 1260. The knights brought with them military technology not encountered by the populations of the region, including the use of the crossbow, the construction of stone fortifications and the use of heavy war horses common in Western Europe. With the help of seasonal participation of crusaders primarily from Germany and Bohemia, the Teutonic Order was able to subdue the Prussians by 1283, with the Livonians to the north being conquered by around 1290 (however, uprisings of the Estonians continued in the 14th century). Military encounters typically occurred in the wintertime, the primary reason being that the terrain was easier to navigate. The anonymous letter written around 1249, mentioned above, even describes winter as "the time when the pilgrims come".

TACTICS AND ORGANISATION

Well-trained, well-armed and disciplined, the Teutonic knight was a formidable warrior

The brother-knight of the Teutonic Order was a consummate professional warrior possessing enormous martial skill and unshakeable discipline. Upon joining the Order, a knight had to swear to obey the Order's rules, renounce property and pledge his chastity. A Teutonic knight was very much a 'warrior monk' of immense religious dedication and a devoted crusader.

The knight's training as an armoured cavalryman served him in good stead against the Order's enemies. His equipment was excellent. In the 13th century, the Teutonic knight's primary weapon was a two-edged sword. He also carried a lance for use in the charge. The typical knight was equipped with chainmail that covered the entirety of his body. Over this was worn a white linen surcoat bearing a black cross. His armour was often reinforced with a coat of plates. On his head he wore a fully enclosing great helm that granted excellent protection. Additional defence was provided by a triangular wooden shield.

CHIVALRIC CRUSADING

However, the idea of crusading lasted well beyond the 13th century in the Baltic. Peter of Dusburg, a priest in the Teutonic Order and author of the *Chronicle of the Land of Prussia,* is one of the most important historical sources for this period. Written around 1326 and perhaps intended for the papal Curia in Rome, Peter's chronicle presents a systematic overview of the conquest of Prussia from the 1230s to his own time.

Following the subjugation of the Prussians in 1283, Dusburg writes that "the war for Prussia ended, and now began the war of the Lithuanians". Although he narrates subsequent raids throughout the end of the 13th century, primarily in the regions of southern Lithuania, the

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"THE KNIGHTS BROUGHT WITH THEM MILITARY TECHNOLOGY NOT ENCOUNTERED BY THE POPULATIONS OF THE REGION"

year 1304 is of particular importance. It was then that "crusaders from Germany began to visit Prussia again, inspired by the Lord". This marked the beginning of over a century of sustained campaigns in the southern Baltic Zone called the Reisen (German for 'expeditions'). The Teutonic Knights were likewise beginning to experience a so-called 'Golden Age'. In 1309, the grand masters of the Order moved their headquarters to Marienburg (or Malbork) from Venice, a sign of the increased focus on the Knights' activities in the Baltic.

The message of the war against the Lithuanians was well received among the European nobility (the papal sanctioning of these wars, it should be noted, remains to be proven by historians). Over the course of the next century, crusaders journeyed to Lithuania from throughout Christendom to participate in campaigns against the

TOP-CENTRE The Golden Bull of Rimini was issued in 1226 when the Order was tasked with converting the Prussians

TOP-RIGHT A poet known as Tannhäuser, who is depicted in the *Codex Manesse* as wearing the habit of the Order

RIGHT A pavise (oblong shield) bearing the cross of the Order

LEFT Depiction of a grand master of the Teutonic Knights

Lithuanians. These were complex, at times even contradictory, expressions of the Order's crusade commitments.

Feasting, jousting, hunting and other festivities attracted young knights and noblemen throughout the 14th and early 15th century. The Teutonic Order was more than happy to provide such opportunities, and perhaps the best example of this link between crusade and chivalry is the 'Table of Honour'. Knights who distinguished themselves in battle would earn a seat at the head of this table and commemoration in the Order's historical texts. A list of such participants from 1385 survives today. The popularity of these expeditions expanded to popular literature, too: the Knight in Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1387 - 1400) sat "many times at the bord [ie the Table]". Henry Bolingbroke, the Earl of Derby and future King Henry IV of England, twice journeyed to Lithuania and distinguished himself at the Siege of Vilnius in 1390. Jean II Le Maingre, the Great Marshal of France, visited the region in the 1380s and 1390s, too, as did noblemen from Germany, Spain and Italy.

LEADERS & COMMANDERS

The knights were led by many remarkable soldiers during their long history

HERMANN VON SALZA
1165 – 1239

After a catastrophe in Cilicia in which the majority of the Teutonic Knights were slain, in 1210 leadership of the Order fell to Hermann von Salza. As hochmeister, or grand master, he oversaw a remarkable revival of the Order. He was an able diplomat who was able to win the affection of both the pope and the Holy Roman emperor. Von Salza was given the Golden Bull of Rimini, which gave him complete sovereignty over the lands held by the Order. He died in 1239, having set the Teutonic Order firmly on its course of crusading in the Baltic lands of Europe.

HERMANN BALKE
Unknown – 1239

In 1229 two of the Order's knights were sent to Prussia, where they constructed the castle of Vogelsang on the Vistula River. Not long after they were slain by the pagan Prussians. Undeterred, in 1230 the Order sent Hermann Balke with 20 knights and 200 sergeants to hold the castle. An energetic crusader, in 1231 Balke led an attack on Prussian lands beyond the Vistula and captured a Prussian fortress-temple. In 1237, he departed Prussia and took up the post of landmeister of nearby Livonia. Though never a grand master of the Order, Balke's achievement was considerable.

ULRICH VON JUNGINGEN
1360 – 1410

Elected grand master in 1407, von Jungingen presided over the defeat of the Order at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410. His demand that Poland and Lithuania stop their support of Samogitian rebels only fanned the flames. Peace talks came to nothing, and von Jungingen gathered his forces. The Teutonic Order met the Polish-Lithuanian army under King Władysław Jagiełło of Poland at Grunwald on 15 July 1410 and were slaughtered, losing about half their strength. Von Jungingen died in the fighting.

HEINRICH VON PLAUEN
1370 – 1429

Despite defeat at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410, the Order saved itself from destruction, largely due to Heinrich von Plauen, who became grand master after the death of von Jungingen. He gave no ground to the Poles and Lithuanians. Władysław Jagiełło, the king of Poland, had not anticipated encountering such resistance at Marienburg. After eight weeks of bombardment, Władysław withdrew. Von Plauen recaptured most of the castles taken by the Polish and Lithuanian forces.

ALBRECHT VON HOHENZOLLERN
1490 – 1568

Albrecht von Hohenzollern became grand master in 1511, just a few years before Lutheranism swept across Germany. He allowed Lutherans to preach in his court in Königsberg. Lutheran reforms soon followed. In 1525, as duke of Prussia, he swore allegiance to the king of Poland, bringing peace with that realm. Albrecht renounced his vow of celibacy and married a woman named Dorothea, a princess of Denmark. Albrecht put down a peasant uprising in 1525 and ruled Prussia until 1568.

CRISIS AND DECLINE

However, things were not as positive as they might appear on the surface. Although the peak of crusading in "the land of the Saracens" (a term transplanted to the Baltic to give legitimacy to crusading activities) continued throughout the 1390s, Lithuania had officially converted to Christianity in 1386. This sparked a significant crisis for the Order and threatened its very existence. If there were no more pagans to fight, why was the Order still needed in Prussia? Not that this had hindered the Knights before. They had entered a significant conflict with the (Christian) Kingdom of Poland following their annexation of Pomerelia and attacks of the cities of Danzig (or Gdańsk) in 1308 and Gnesen (or Gniezno) in 1331.

This would spark a conflict that lasted for nearly a century and was intensified by the outbreak of the so-called Great War of 1409–11 between the Teutonic Knights and the Kingdom of Poland. On 15 July 1410, at the hands of Wladyslaw II Jagiello, King of Poland, and Vytautas, Grand Duke of Lithuania, the Teutonic Order was defeated in battle at Tannenberg (or Grunwald). The grand master of the Order, Ulrich of Jungingen, was killed and many knights and soldiers (mercenaries) captured and held for ransom.

The defeat of the Order at Tannenberg was a significant turning point. In Prussia, the Teutonic Knights found themselves backed into a corner, primarily because it was unable to cover the financial costs incurred by years of hiring mercenaries (itself a result of a decline in recruitment figures for the Order). Moreover, plans were made to move the Order to another frontier and a new mission, perhaps even back to Hungary to set themselves up to fight the Turks. The Council of Constance (1414-18) questioned the necessity of the Order's existence.

ABOVE The Teutonic Order and Lithuania Duchy fought for over 100 years

BELOW Malbork Castle was built in the 13th century by the Teutonic Order and remains the largest castle in the world by land area

To the north, in Livonia, the impact of Tannenberg was such that the branch of the Order there enjoyed more independence from Prussia. They did not participate in the Battle of Tannenberg, and as a result of the fallout experienced by the Prussian branch, remained in a stronger administrative and economic position. However, the Battle of Wiłkomierz (1 September 1435) served as a significant blow to the Order's authority in this region. The Master of the Livonian Branch, Frank Kerskorf, was killed in this battle.

Internal and external struggles continued to plague the Teutonic Knights in both Livonia and Prussia for the remainder of the 15th century. The Order and the towns in Prussia were pitted against one another as a direct result of the defeat at Tannenberg and the First Peace of Thorn (1411), which required the Order to raise taxes in the Prussian towns in order to repay its debt to the Kingdom of Poland. As a result, in 1440 the 'Prussian Union' was formed. It was essentially a confederation of noblemen and clergy in Prussia against the Order. In 1454, this Union requested that it become subject to the Polish Crown, as opposed to the Order, which sparked the so-called Thirteen Years War (1454–66). The Order experienced a significant setback and the conflict resulted in the creation of 'Royal Prussia'. The Teutonic Knights lost their claims to a significant amount of land, including the Kulmerland, Warmia, and Eastern Pomerania, confirmed by the Second Peace of Thorn (1466). They were forced to move their headquarters to Königsberg (or Kaliningrad).

"IF THERE WERE NO MORE PAGANS TO FIGHT, WHY WAS THE ORDER STILL NEEDED IN PRUSSIA?"

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"SOME ELEMENTS OF THE ORDER'S ORIGINAL MISSION MANAGED TO SURVIVE EVEN THIS TURBULENT TIME"

Some elements of the Order's original mission managed to survive even this turbulent time. This is particularly true with the Livonian Branch and its conflicts with Novgorod. Although Christians, they were seen as Schismatics by the Church. As such, the Teutonic Order in Livonia crafted a steady propaganda campaign throughout the 1440s to fight "against the Schismatics and Unbelievers". The Order took advantage of the benefits of styling itself as "bulwark of the Christian faith against the unbelievers and the Schismatics" in order to secure financial support in the form of raising money for future campaigns. In Prussia, however, the grand masters did not wish to renounce their claims to the region any further. As a result, when they were called upon to participate in campaigns against the Ottomans by the King of Poland, Jan Olbracht (r.1492 – 1501), only a small party of knights joined, under the leadership of the Grand Master John of Tiefen. On their way to the battle in 1497, Tiefen died in Lemberg (or Lviv) of disease.

TRANSFORMATION

The fallout from the Second Peace of Thorn resulted in a considerable re-organisation of the Teutonic Knights' power structure in Prussia. Tensions between the Order and the Kingdom of Poland continued to rise, and the knights faced the real risk of further military conflict, which began in 1519. This was the so-called Reiterkrieg of 1519-21, which only stopped with the intervention of Emperor Maximilian I. Albert of Brandenburg-Ansbach, elected as grand master in 1511, converted to Lutheranism in 1525. The Reformation in Prussia resulted in the transformation of the Teutonic Order's territory into the Duchy of Prussia, marking the transformation from a territory ruled by a religious order to one ruled by a secular one. In fact, the grand master took the title of duke of Prussia and performed homage to the Polish king.

Luther's ideas did not take hold among members of the Livonian Branch until later. In some ways, we might connect this to the continuity of crusade ideas and themes on this frontier. The master of the Order, Walter of Plettenberg, even asked for the pope to call a crusade against

ABOVE
A 19th century engraving of the Teutonic Knights fighting the Poles and Lithuanians

ABOVE-RIGHT
Teutonic Knight imagery has continued to be used into the modern era, such as with this WWI poster from Germany thanking the military for its service

RIGHT
Jan Matejko's painting of the Battle of Grunwald in 1410, a huge defeat for the Order

the Russians. The early 16th century saw continued conflict between the Livonian Branch of the Order and Muscovy, culminating in the Battle of Lake Smolino in September 1502. As a result of this victory, a religious feast and procession was instituted in the city of Riga and Plettenberg was commemorated as the saviour of the region. Subsequent conflicts between the Livonian Branch of the Order and the Russians continued, known as the Livonian War, which lasted from 1558 to 1583. This conflict began with the invasion of Livonia by Ivan IV, causing the Livonian Master to flee to Poland-Lithuania. In 1559, Gotthard Kettler was elected as master of the Livonian Branch. Continual raiding in the countryside meant that the Livonian Branch was significantly weakened. In 1560, the Order suffered defeat at the Battle of Ergeme, and in the next year it was dissolved with the signing of the Treaty of Vilnius in 1561.

It is important to note that the term 'the last crusaders' may not technically apply to the Teutonic Order. Members did not take temporary vows to join the Order, but rather joined for life and took additional vows of poverty and chastity. However, the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic were key figures in what some might call the last 'crusades', and surely oversaw and facilitated one of the last great booms in crusading activity. Perhaps, in this way, we can call them helpers of 'the last crusaders'.

LEGACY

The Teutonic Order's modern history is just as rich as its medieval and early modern past. It survived the Napoleonic Wars of the early 19th century and two world wars. Moreover, it was coopted by nationalist ideologies, becoming either a cruel and ruthless oppressor or harbinger of civilisation. It brings to mind the depiction of the Order in Sergei Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) or Alexander Ford's *Knights of the Teutonic Order* (1960) as savage and proud knights bent on destruction. The image of the Order as predecessors to the Nazi eastward expansion was also employed by propagandists, though it should be remembered that Hitler disbanded the Teutonic Knights in 1939.

The Teutonic Order today, headquartered in Vienna, bases its identity in many ways on the first and original duties of those German crusaders at the Siege of Acre in 1190. Its motto is a testament to this: "To Help, To Defend, To Heal." Perhaps we can see it, then, as part of the last crusaders.

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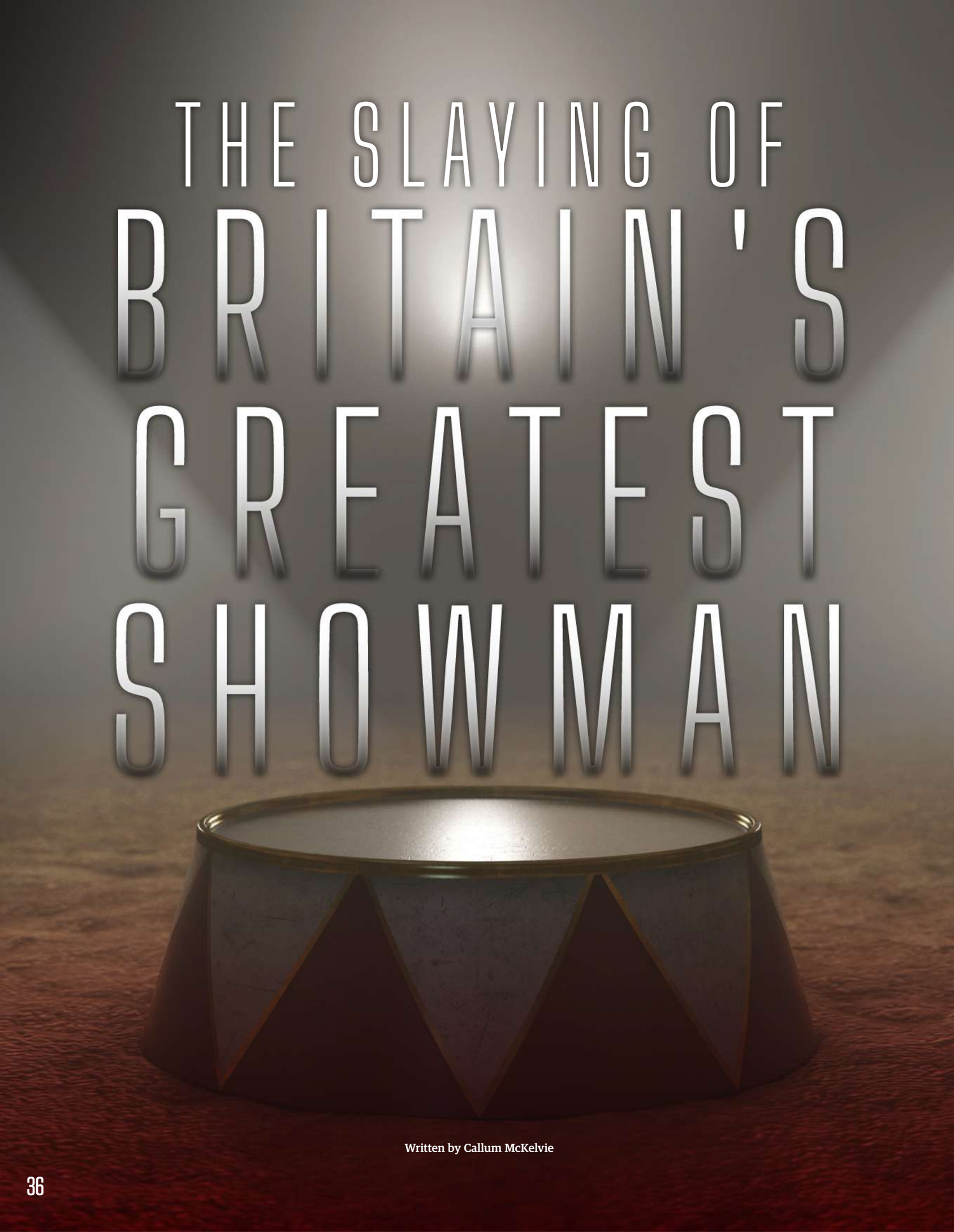
THE SLAYING OF BRITAIN'S GREATEST SHOWMAN



Written by Callum McKelvie

Lord George Sanger photographed with a number of his circus animals

In Victorian Britain, circus proprietor Lord George Sanger was murdered by a crazed axeman... or was he?

On 28 November 1911, Lord George Sanger, one of the most famous men in the British Isles at the time, was purportedly murdered in his own home. The supposed killer, Herbert Cooper, violently attacked Sanger with a felling axe until he lay dying. Sanger had brought joy to thousands with his empire of circus entertainments, even building Britain's first seaside amusement park. But is there more to this story than meets the eye? Author Karl Shaw has explored the mysterious events surrounding Sanger's death in his book *The Killing of Lord George*. Here, he discusses Sanger's amazing life and mysterious death...

Who was Lord George Sanger?

He was one of these people who were once incredibly famous but are now all but forgotten. He was born in 1825 and was the sixth of 10 children born into a travelling show. At the age of five, Sanger was a fairground announcer for his dad and by his early teens he was running his own one-man travelling show. We know that during his life on the road he experienced incredible hardship. He was travelling with a huge family in a tiny wooden caravan and experienced a great deal of violence. He was at the receiving end of some of the worst that Victorian society could muster because travelling showmen were seen as little more than criminals. But Sanger was a tough, resilient little guy and tried his hand at just about anything that might earn him a living.

EXPERT BIO

KARL SHAW

Author and journalist Karl Shaw has written a number of books, including *Mad, Bad and Dangerous to Know: The Extraordinary Exploits of the British and European Aristocracy*. His latest, *The Killing of Lord George*, explores the death of Lord George Sanger.

For a while he was an acrobat, then a magician, and he even married a lion tamer. He finally reinvented himself as a travelling circus proprietor and before very long his name was known in every corner of the British Isles.

How popular was he?

Through the Victorian era, and right up until the 1950s, the name Sanger ran through the British circus like a stick of rock. He was once the biggest thing in British-owned businesses. That might seem like an exaggeration but in those days genuinely popular showbusiness celebrity didn't begin with musicals – it began with the circus. It was an age when ordinary people didn't travel outside their town or villages and circus performers were the only famous people they got to see. Sanger was the hardest-working impresario of the age and it was his name that they saw on the signs. Sanger toured relentlessly for over half-a-century and he boasted that there wasn't a town or village in the British Isles with a population of over 100 people that he hadn't been to. He performed for Queen Victoria at Balmoral and hobnobbed with the likes of the Prince of Wales.

"Sanger performed for Queen Victoria and hobnobbed with the Prince of Wales"

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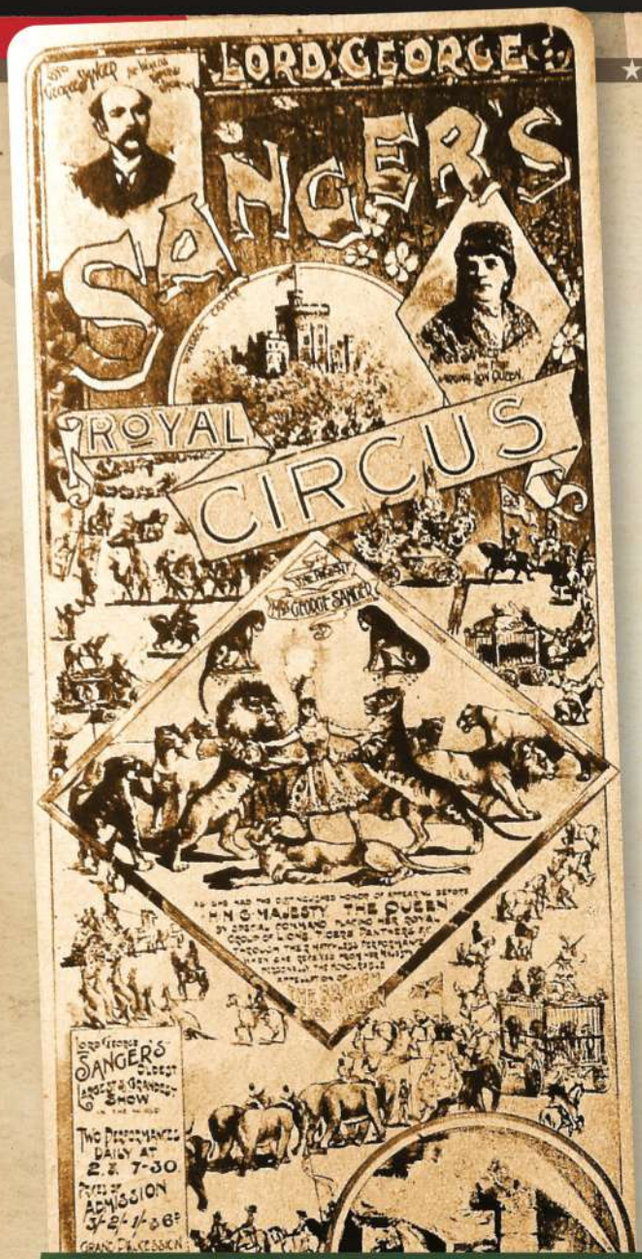


He loved to name-drop and tell people that he was a friend of the likes of Charles Dickens, although you have to take a lot of his tales with a pinch of salt because he was quite a storyteller. He also toured Europe extensively as well and his fame extended well beyond Britain. He became incredibly wealthy and was probably the richest and most well-loved showman of the era. His showbiz empire included two theatres in London and Britain's first permanent seaside amusement park, in Margate, called Dreamland.

What happened on the night of the 28 November 1911?

There was a place called Park Farm in North London and when Sanger retired in his 70s it became his permanent home. He lived here with several members of his extended family, including his granddaughter and her husband. Late one November Tuesday evening around 6pm one of the servants, a man called Arthur Jackson, was seen staggering in the road outside the farm. He had blood all over his face and he was yelling: "Help! Help! Herbert is murdering us." The alarm was raised and when they got to the farmhouse they found Sanger lying on his back, dying from his injuries. The police were told that an employee, a man called Herbert Cooper, had suddenly gone mad and in some random fashion picked up a felling axe, attacked two people and then attacked Sanger. Cooper is then said to have fled into the night.

Who was Herbert Cooper and what was his relationship to Sanger?

Cooper was a young man who worked as a sort of general labourer around the farm. He was in his mid-20s and eventually Sanger took a shine to him, and Cooper became a sort of personal assistant to him. However, he had recently lost his job because it was alleged that he'd stolen some money and Cooper had been replaced by another

LEFT His thriving circus business made Sanger enormously rich and famous

RIGHT Sanger's circus parading into Beverley in 1901

RIGHT-INSET A 1902 poster advertising one of Sanger's many circus shows

BOTTOM-RIGHT Victorian illustration of a riding lesson at Sanger's circus

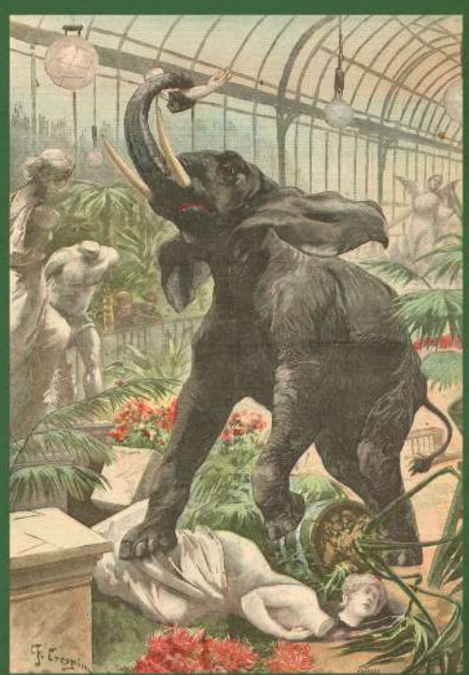
CHAOS AT CRYSTAL PALACE

The terrifying moment when two of the elephants at Sanger's circus broke loose and went on a rampage

The Crystal Palace was a vast exhibition hall constructed out of glass and iron and housed in Hyde Park, central London. Designed by Sir Joseph Paxton to house the Great Exhibition of 1851, it was considered one of the wonders of its age. It was taken down in 1854 and then rebuilt at Sydenham Hill in south London, where it would remain until 1936. It was at this site that a terrifying event took place when two elephants at Sanger's circus, Archie and Charlie, broke free and went on the rampage.

The animals were supposedly being teased by one of the circus workers. Charlie became incensed, broke free of his chains and attacked one of the men, trampling him and ripping him to pieces, according to a contemporary reports. Charlie then remained in the Crystal Palace but Archie, on the other hand, decided to explore and proceeded to attack the concert room just as the 4pm performance was about to begin. He then left the Palace grounds and headed out towards Sydenham Hill, ending up in Westwood Park where he proceeded to attack an iron fence.

Archie was eventually caught in Beckenham and returned to Sanger's circus. Charlie, due to his killing of the circus worker, was given potassium cyanide on some bread in an attempt to poison him. When this did not work he was taken outside and shot.



"One of the servants was yelling: 'Help! Help! Herbert is murdering us!'"

over the next few days, every opportunity was taken to keep the story alive.

A couple of days later, Cooper's body was found on a railway track; he had laid down in order to kill himself. So, no one was ever brought to trial for the murder of Sanger. As far as the police were concerned, that was pretty much it. No one looked at the evidence that was right under their noses.

What are the obvious issues with this version of the story?

In the 1950s, Sanger's grandson, who was also a showman, wrote a memoir. His book went under the radar and wasn't widely publicised. However, within it he said that there

employee. The theory was that Cooper was furious at having lost his job.

How was the case viewed by the police?

The constabulary in North London viewed it as an open-and-shut case. The manhunt for Sanger's killer was one of the biggest of the year. London was a very big city but cold-blooded murders were very rare. The death of an internationally famous showman had made newspapers all the way around the world. The brutal slaying of a defenceless old man was one thing, but the idea that it was done in his own home in a frenzied axe attack by a trusted employee was quite another, so the press really went to town. It was reported that Park Farm was a bloodbath; it was said that Cooper had rushed into the parlour with a razor in one hand and an axe in the other. They portrayed him as a man of enormous size and strength and violent temperament, though he was neither of these things. The way the press reported it there was no question Cooper did it but none of it was really true. And

LORD GEORGE SANGER
THE ORIGINAL
AT 2.30 & 7.30
QUITE NEW
THIS BEAUTIFUL AND ACCOMPLISHED LADY DANCER - STANDING ALONE - HAVING NO EQUAL IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD
THE GREAT CACULAR & WATCH DANCE

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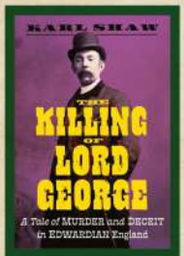
ABOVE His circus wagon is on display at Wookey Hole museum

LEFT Sanger's funeral procession following his violent death

had always been a strong feeling in the family that the official version of events didn't quite add up. There was a suspicion something else went on that night and there had been a kind of family cover up. So that was the first indication that there was something fishy going on. When it came to the coroner's inquest into Sanger's death the witnesses who said that Cooper had run into the room waving an axe backtracked a little bit. One witness said he had passed out and admitted he hadn't seen anything. In fact the only person in the room at the time of the alleged attack was a man whose wife Cooper had allegedly been having an affair with – so the police really shouldn't have taken this evidence at face value. The other really damning thing was that the felling axe supposedly used in the attack was not found by the police, it was found by a member of the family. Even then it wasn't very well hidden. A number of policemen were supposed to have spent six hours searching the farm with a fine-tooth comb and they didn't see it right under their noses. I think the axe was clearly planted to frame Cooper.

Why do you think Sanger was killed?

If you go online you'll see Cooper listed as one of the greatest axe murderers of all time and I'm absolutely convinced he didn't kill anybody. Some kind of scuffle went on, Cooper snapped and I think got into a fight with the man whose wife he was accused of having an affair with. Although Sanger was quite an old gentleman at this point he was still quite handy with his fists. I think he probably jumped up and joined in. When the police searched the house they found a candelabra lying on the floor, but they didn't really take any notice of it. However, the grandson alluded to the idea that actually Sanger may have fallen and accidentally bashed himself on the head. It wasn't a murder but a tragic accident. However, certain people saw this as an opportunity to gain revenge on Cooper, due to his supposed affair.



THE KILLING OF LORD GEORGE BY KARL SHAW IS OUT NOW FROM ICON BOOKS PRICED £18.99

How did you become interested in the story of Sanger's mysterious death?

Usually I write about social history and I was actually writing a book about Sanger's incredible life. He wrote a memoir called *Seventy Years a Showman* and it was quite an amazing story. However, I was also aware that there was this very curious, very macabre footnote at the end of it, that he had died very suddenly and violently supposedly at the hands of a crazed employee. Doing my due diligence I went to the National Archives, and to my great surprise I found all of the original police files and images from the coroner's inquest. Because inquest and murder cases are actually sealed for 75 years, these wouldn't have become open to the public until 1986. But I could tell from the bindings on the files that really they hadn't been disturbed in a long time and I guess I would have been the first person to see them, I think. I also got more than I bargained for because from looking at the police files there's no question [that] they got it completely wrong. But I was writing this book about this man's incredible life and when I sent it to my agent she said: "No, you've got a true crime story about an incredible death, can you rebalance it?" So I had to jettison quite a lot of research into his life because it was getting in the way of the crime story – but it's a better book for it!

"From looking at the police files there's no question that they got it completely wrong"

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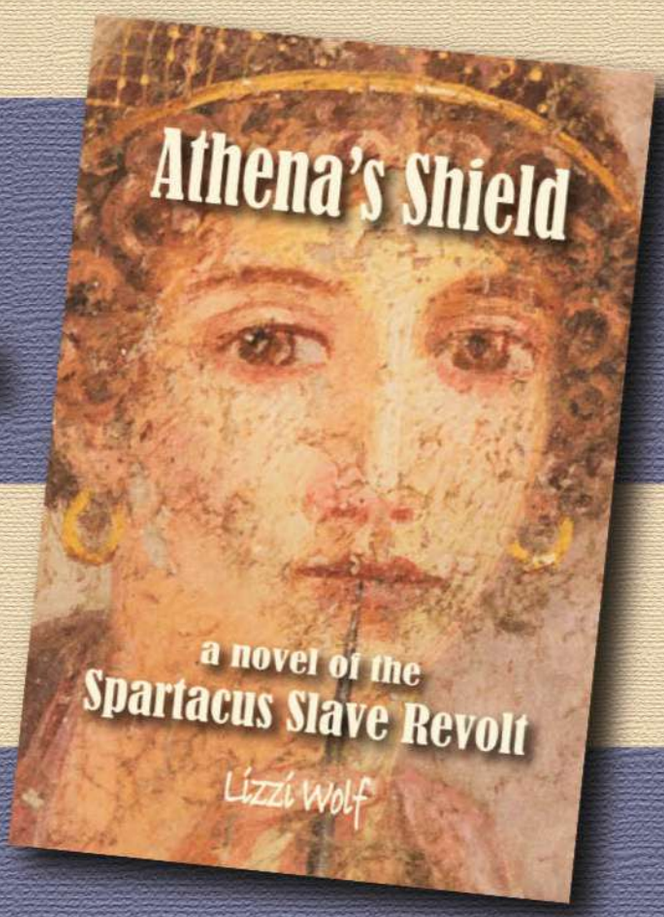

Available on Amazon.

THE FIRST *(and last)* KING *of* HAITI

The short-lived monarchy of Henry Christophe, rebel leader of the Haitian Revolution

Written by Paul Clammer

© Paul Clammer

EXPERT BIO

PAUL CLAMMER

Paul Clammer is a freelance writer and author with over 40 guidebooks for Lonely Planet and the Bradt Travel Guides' book *Haiti*, the first standalone book for the country in English since the 1980s. He's been travelling to Haiti since 2007, including a year living in Port-au-Prince.

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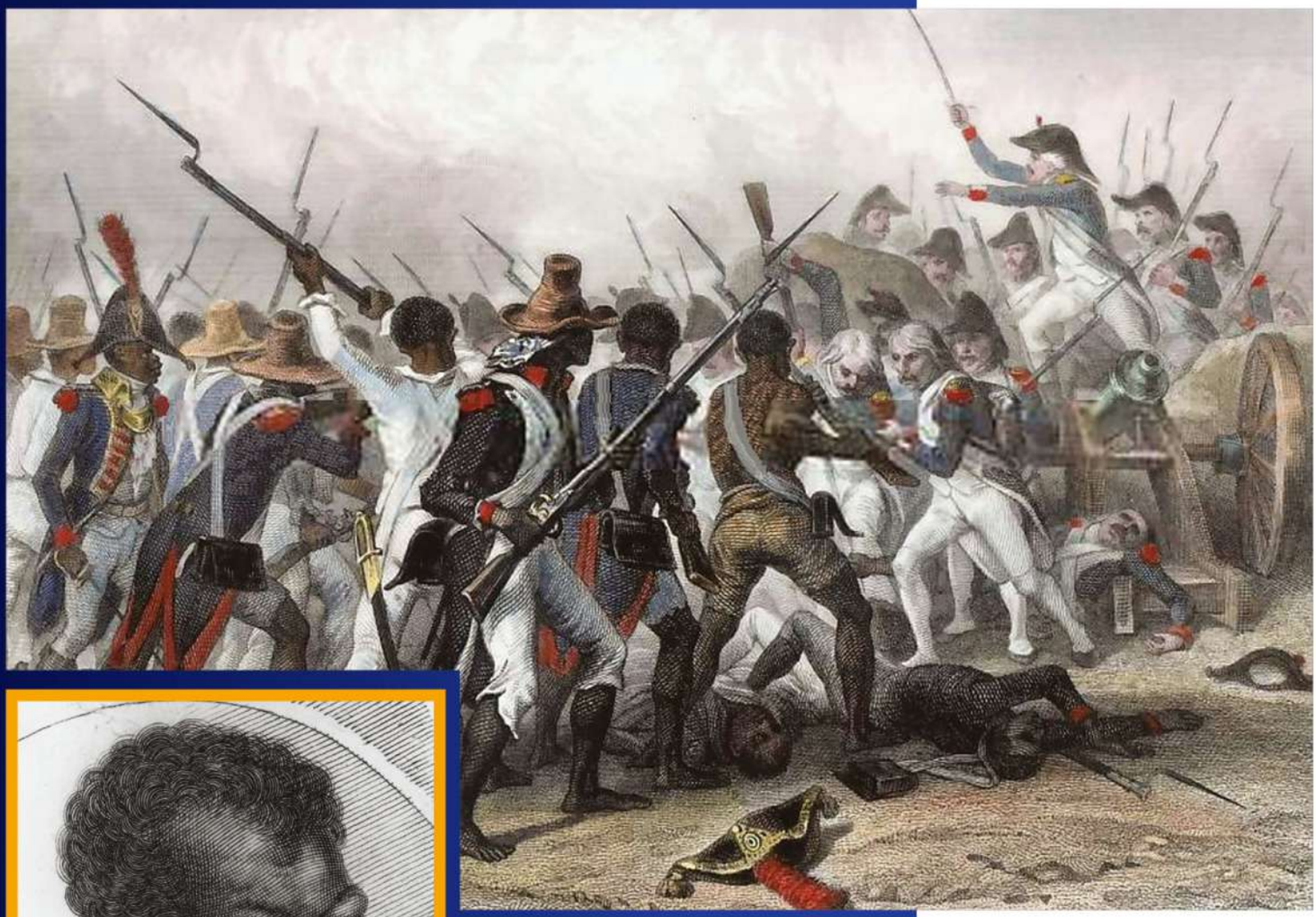
In November 1815, Londoners were treated to one of the grandest exhibitions of craftsmanship the city had seen for some time. 23 state carriages were put on public display in Charles Street, Marylebone. No one who saw them failed to be awed by their magnificence, from the gilt mouldings of the bodywork topped with crowned phoenixes and the finely painted coats of arms on the panels, to the luscious velvet interiors fringed with gold drapery. The carriages, along with harnesses, crimson saddles and silver-clawed tiger skin saddlecloths, had cost the coachmakers Crowther and Tapp an estimated £12,000 to make.

"It is to be lamented that more time is not allowed the public," wrote *The Morning Chronicle*, "to witness one of the grandest specimens of art and elegance ever combined in one piece of work of the kind that has been sent from this country." The same week the newspaper had cooed over a set of satin gowns "finished by one of our fashionable dress-makers" along with pieces from the Prince Regent's own jeweller, cut-glass chandeliers, damask cloths and marble busts. The purchaser was Henry Christophe, who had crowned himself King Henry I of Haiti only four years earlier, the ruler of a free Black kingdom in a Caribbean dominated by colonial slavery.

Although he remains little remembered today outside his home country, Christophe was a familiar figure to the Londoners who read about his spending sprees across the capital. The celebrated abolitionist William Wilberforce was such a prominent supporter of him that pro-slavery critics claimed he was quicker to toast a Black king than he was the English monarch George III. Wilberforce had helped send teachers to the nascent kingdom to aid in its development, along with the painter Richard Evans, who had been a student to the society portraitist Sir Thomas Lawrence. Christophe returned the favour by gifting Wilberforce his portrait, which was duly hung at the Royal Academy.

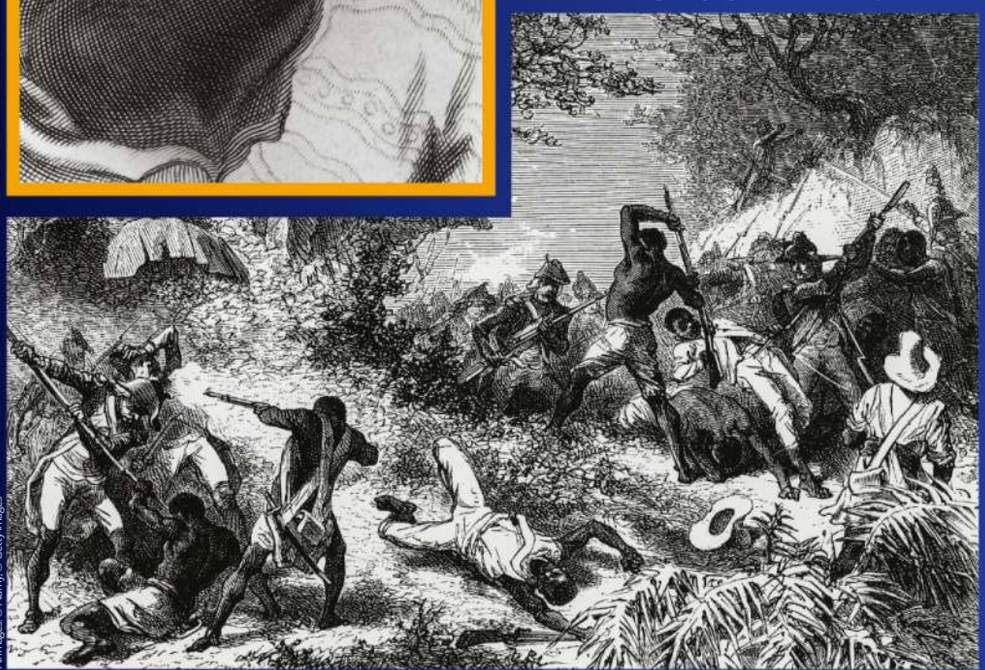
Christophe had risen to power through the tumultuous events of the Haitian Revolution (1791 – 1804). He had been a trusted lieutenant of the mercurial Toussaint Louverture, who had led his people to the brink of independence from France only to be captured by his enemies and shipped off to die in



ABOVE Many of the men involved in leading the Haitian Revolution had previous military training

LEFT We know that Christophe was born enslaved in Grenada, but there is little additional detail about his upbringing

BELOW The Haitian Revolution was a massive uprising against colonial rule and slavery



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an icy French dungeon. The crowds in London would have quickly recalled the broad outlines of Christophe's story: how Haiti had been split by civil war soon after it had freed itself from French rule, and how Christophe had created a kingdom for himself in the north of the country. For a decade, he had been a staple of the English newspapers, and stories of his wealth were legion. His likeness had even appeared in a London waxwork show.

Like all the protagonists of the Haitian Revolution, Christophe had come from the humblest of backgrounds. He was born enslaved on the British Caribbean island of Grenada in 1767. Little is known of his origins, though in later life he voiced his distrust of the sea due to the privations his father had suffered undergoing the Middle Passage from Africa in the belly of a slave ship. Nothing is known of his mother.

In 1779, when Christophe was on the cusp of his 12th birthday, Grenada was captured by France. The victorious fleet then headed for the French colony of Saint-Domingue on the island of Hispaniola, carrying the child as part of the spoils of war. Saint-Domingue was at the time one of the richest and most profitable places in the world. Fully two-thirds of the world's

sugar and half of its coffee came from the colony, produced by nearly half-a-million enslaved Africans.

In the city of Cap Français (now Cap-Haïtien, Haiti's second city), the young Christophe would have been amazed when the fleet took on a battalion of free Black militia troops to ferry them to North America to support the rebellious colonists in their independence struggle against Britain. The Chasseurs Volontaires were representatives of the colony's small free Black community who were trying to find a place for themselves in a slave colony by pledging their loyalty to the metropole. A month later, they were in action at the Siege of Savannah in Georgia. The regimental muster rolls have long since been lost, but by all accounts Christophe joined their ranks as a drummer boy and may even have been wounded in

"Christophe had come from the humblest of backgrounds"

action. At the conclusion of the campaign, he returned to Cap Français with his comrades, nominally free, and found work in a tavern that was presciently called La Couronne ('The Crown').

When the first fires of the Haitian Revolution set Saint-Domingue ablaze in August 1791, Christophe was a member of the Cap Français militia. He did not immediately throw in his lot with the slave armies but became a supporter of the French revolutionary commissioners who took charge of the city, and even helped defend it against white royalist counter-revolutionary forces in a fight that saw his city almost burned to the ground. It was only when general emancipation was declared in the summer of 1793, followed by Toussaint Louverture's transition from rebel general to leader of the French republican army in the colony, that Christophe became a fully fledged revolutionary. Under Louverture's tutelage, he rose rapidly through the ranks.

By 1802, when Napoleon Bonaparte sent an army to recapture the colony and reinstate slavery, Christophe was commander of Cap Français and put the city to the torch rather than surrender it to the French. Nearly two years of bloody conflict ensued, but when the French were worn down by incessant guerrilla warfare and tropical diseases they finally quit the island. When Haiti became free on New Year's Day 1804, Christophe's was the second signature on the declaration of independence, after that of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, another formerly enslaved general who had succeeded Louverture as commander of the free armies.

Dessalines and Christophe inherited a country in ruins that was born into a hostile neighbourhood. All the imperial powers in the Caribbean were terrified of revolutionary contagion; British Jamaica lay barely 200km from Haiti's westernmost tip. Furthermore, there was a great internal tension about what Haitian freedom actually meant. For the generals like Dessalines and Christophe, independence only meant something if it could be defended from its enemies, and so they sought to rebuild the ravaged plantations, forcing labourers back to work to produce export crops with which they could buy gunpowder to ward against the return of the French. For the Haitian citizens, however, many of whom had been born in Africa and brought to the Caribbean against their will, freedom meant personal liberty and the right to be left alone, free from the oversight of any master, irrespective of their colour.

Within two years of Haitian independence, Dessalines was both crowned as emperor and then murdered in a conspiracy led by former members of Saint-Domingue's free coloured community who objected to his plans to nationalise agriculture. They nominated Christophe as his replacement as president, while reducing the position to that of a mere figurehead. It was this constitutional fix that Christophe chose to settle by force, leading his armies south to lay siege to Port-au-Prince.

The Haitian soldiers who had prevailed over the French fought each other to a stalemate and the country became divided by civil war. Christophe's rival was Alexandre Pétion, who denounced Christophe as a dictator then took all power from his senate and eventually had himself proclaimed president for life. In 1811, Christophe chose a different path and had himself proclaimed the "first crowned monarch of the New World", with the northern half of the country renamed the Kingdom of Haiti.

From a modern perspective where we read revolutions as the precursors to republics, the creation of a monarchy feels like a retrograde step, but in this new Age of Revolutions there were few models to follow. France had killed its king, but then crowned Napoleon as emperor. "Though we appear in the same hypothetical situation as the Americans," declared Christophe's Council of State as it rejected presidential rule, "being a new

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

The Haitians who helped forge a new nation

Toussaint Louverture

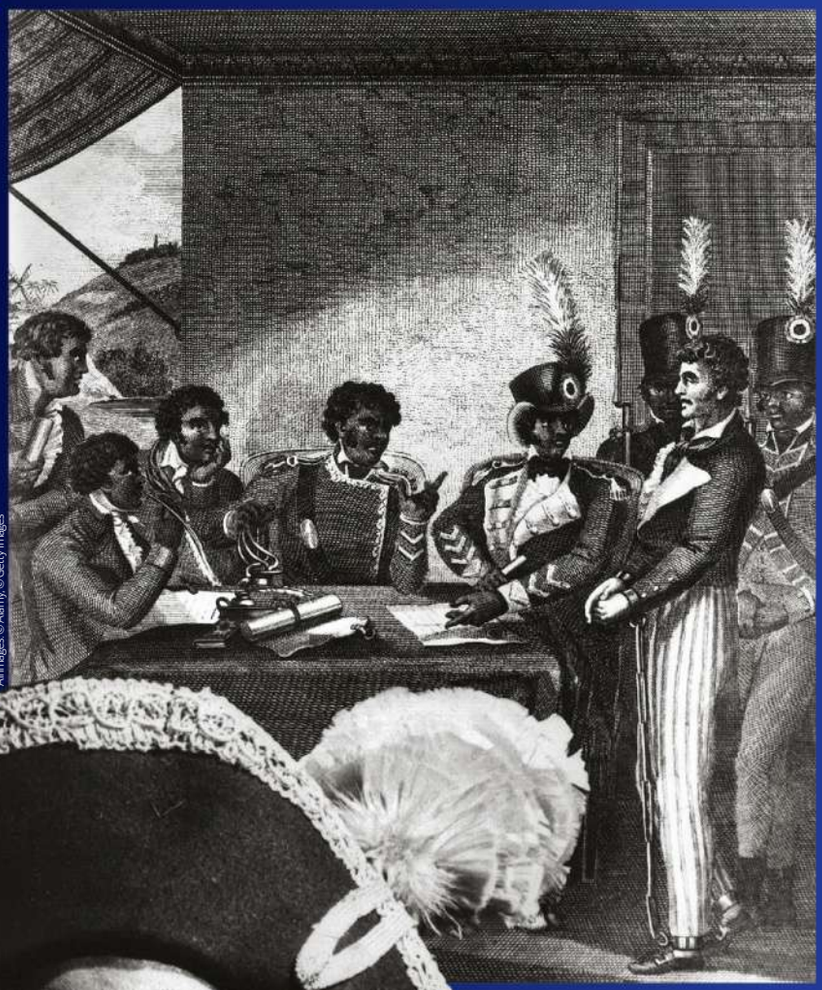
Known as the 'Father of Haiti', Louverture is credited with turning what started out as a slave rebellion into an organised and effective revolution. Under his leadership, Haiti established its independence, but when he was invited to negotiate with the French, he was arrested and deported to France, where he died in custody.

Jean-Jacques Dessalines

Dessalines was the first leader of fully independent Haiti as emperor of Haiti from 1804. It was under his rule that the island was the first nation in the Americas to abolish slavery completely. He took over leadership from Louverture after he was captured by the French, but was himself assassinated in 1806, possibly by some of his former allies.

Alexandre Pétion

The first president of the Republic of Haiti, Pétion ruled in the south as an elected ruler in opposition to Christophe's autocratic rule in the north. However, he would later make himself president for life, having become disenchanted with the conflicts that arose out of the democratic process. He died from yellow fever in 1818.



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LEFT Christophe and Toussaint Louverture depicted interrogating an English spy

BELOW-LEFT Gordon Heath portraying Christophe in the play *Defiant Island* in 1978

A 1. HAITI - MILOT - Ruines du Palais de "Sans-Souci"
qui fut la Résidence du Roi Henri 1er
ns of Sans Souci Palace, residence of King Henri the First

BELOW The remains of Sans Souci Palace, which was the residence of Henry I

people, still we possess the wants, the manners, the virtues, and we will add, the vices of the old states." Indeed, there were important local precedents: before the arrival of Columbus. Hispaniola had been ruled by hereditary chiefs called caciques, and the most celebrated of all had been called Enrique (Henry). Furthermore, many Haitians had been born in African kingdoms and recognised monarchies as a natural form of government.

This mix of Africa and the Caribbean was reflected in the heraldry created for the king and the raft of nobles created among his supporters. Elephants, iguanas, rhinos and manatees jostled for space on the coats of arms among the beasts of classical mythology and traditional European heraldic devices.

Christophe envisaged his kingdom as somewhere that could fulfil the true potential of the Enlightenment, while rejecting the cruel racism that had led to European colonial slavery. It published books and newspapers, introduced smallpox vaccination, enacted some of the world's first laws against animal cruelty and exported sugar and coffee created from the labour of free men and women. No wonder that Wilberforce was such a supporter. When the *Code Henry* was published, a nearly 800-page book of law

that codified almost every aspect of life in the kingdom and guaranteed agricultural labourers a share of the plantation profits and basic access to healthcare, the president of the Royal Society Sir Joseph Banks declared it worthy of being written in letters of gold: "Nothing that white men have been able to arrange is equal to it." But the farm labourers themselves were rather less impressed; it was their labour – enforced by draconian policing – that was paying for the kingdom's new glories.

The extraordinary palace of Sans Souci was built as the centrepiece of the new kingdom, a fabulous tropical Versailles that was home to the royal printing press, mint and academy of arts. Above it, Christophe raised the enormous mountain-top Citadelle Henry that could garrison several thousand soldiers and to this day remains the largest fortress in the Americas.

"Christophe envisaged his kingdom as somewhere that could fulfil the true potential of the Enlightenment"

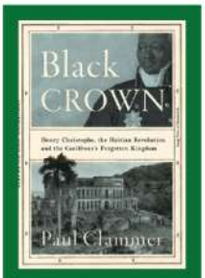
Only one thing eluded Christophe's grasp: diplomatic recognition. At his coronation, attended by officers of a visiting Royal Navy frigate, he toasted his "brother monarch" George III, and gave favoured status to British merchants. The spending sprees of his British agents were deliberate acts of soft power designed to curry favour with London, but recognition never came. After the Congress of Vienna settled the Napoleonic Wars, Britain was content to defer to French wishes over their lost colony, and the colonial lobby in Paris was still howling at the loss of Saint-Domingue.

Christophe's supporters in Britain were seduced by the royal proclamations, but the reality of the kingdom didn't always match the headlines. When Christophe was laid low after suffering a very public stroke while at Mass at the age of 52, the roots of his power were shown to be very shallow indeed. No books of law, newspapers or support of foreign abolitionists could shore up his reign. Four months later, a regiment in the south of the kingdom mutinied after being forced to labour on public works: ironically they'd been ordered to shore up border defences for fear that Christophe's illness might provoke a move against the kingdom from Port-au-Prince. In the kingdom's capital the Duc de Marmelade, General Jean-Pierre Richard, refused orders to quash the rebellion and instead tore off his insignia and declared the monarchy was dead.

This new contagion spread rapidly. Within a day, soldiers at Sans Souci were abandoning their monarch. The half-paralysed Christophe couldn't even mount his horse to give orders to his last loyal troops. Refusing to give his rivals the satisfaction of parading him as a prisoner, he retreated to his chamber and shot himself in the heart. The palace was given over to an orgy of looting that lasted two weeks until the arrival of an army from Port-au-Prince, led by Pétion's successor President Jean-Pierre Boyer, restored order and finally reunified Haiti's two warring halves.

ABOVE In 1811 Christophe was crowned king of the Kingdom of Haiti

Christophe forged a kingdom by force of personality, but his vision of a proud and modern nation claiming its rightful place on the world stage had failed to carry his people with him. Haiti's plantation system died with the king. Sugar plantations were left to turn fallow as people turned to individual subsistence plots or easily harvested wild coffee and cacao. When gunboats forced Boyer to contract an indemnity with France in 1825 of 150 million francs in return for recognition of Haitian independence, tax revenues could barely cover the interest payments, condemning the country to penury. It took until 1947 for all the associated debts to be repaid – a debt of $21 billion paid over 143 years to the country it had won its freedom from by force of arms. When certificates were issued to celebrate this financial independence, they were decorated with an image of the Citadelle Henry, the fortress that Christophe had always intended to be the last line of defence against foreign control of the country.

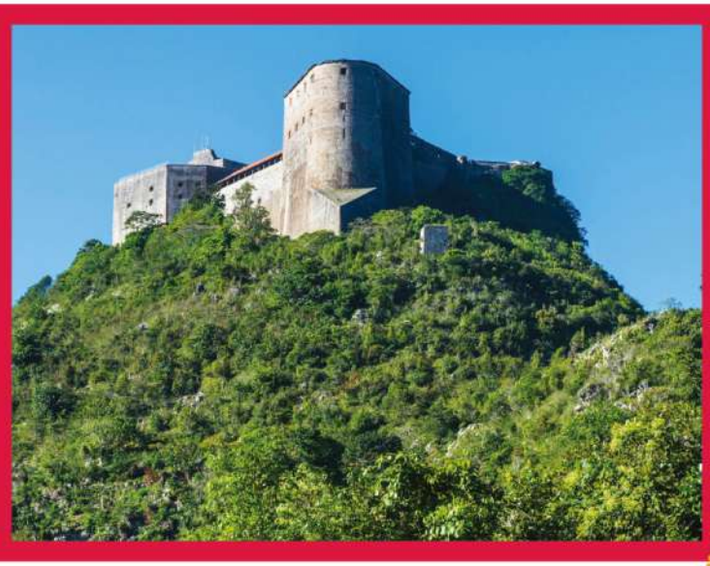


BLACK CROWN: HENRY CHRISTOPHE, THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION AND THE CARIBBEAN'S FORGOTTEN KINGDOM BY PAUL CLAMMER IS AVAILABLE NOW FROM HURST PUBLISHERS

A KING'S FORTRESS

The impressive Citadelle Henry explained

The imposing Citadelle Henry, or Citadelle Laferrière as it is also known, was built from 1806 and completed in 1820. The original construction of a series of fortifications had been plotted by Christophe's predecessor as the return of the French was an ongoing concern. The fortress sits on the Bonnet a L'Eveque mountain and, according to the citadel's own website, is referred to by locals the 'Eighth Wonder of the World'. It has much to commend it to such a title, being the largest fortress in the Americas, designed to house the local population while raining fire on the surroundings to keep enemies from destroying the new kingdom. It had 365 cannons, many of them obtained from European monarchs and carrying their crests, which you can still see today. Damaged, ultimately, only by weather and time, the Citadelle Henry remains a symbol of Haitian independence.



ATTACK OF THE FROGMEN

Discover the origins of modern combat divers who risked their lives on a new battlefield

Written by Michael G Welham

EXPERT BIOS

© Michael Welham

MICHAEL G WELHAM

Michael G Welham is a former Royal Marines Commando and member of 21 SAS and Naval Gunfire Support 95 Commando RAR. His books include *Combat Frogmen* (written with Lord Paddy Ashdown), *Naval Elite Units* and *Exploring The Deep*.

THE FIRST FROGMEN

© Royal Navy

The first frogmen entered World War II with a new type of underwater warfare in 1941 when the Italians formed the Decima Flottiglia MAS (the Tenth Light Flotilla). It was a unit whose leaders devised the use of men sitting astride what was described as a human torpedo, a cigar-shaped craft with a detachable warhead, that could enter enemy harbours underwater, allowing frogmen to attack ships at anchor. The first full-scale attacks were at Gibraltar, which abounded in Allied merchant vessels en route for the war fronts in North Africa, where they off-loaded fuel and stores for use by the Allies.

The British Admiralty reacted to the attacks by asking Gibraltar command to provide an effective counter offensive. That was easier said than done, as the only diving equipment available was the heavy standard diving dress, and to use that to search all the ships passing through the harbour at that period would have been impossible. The British formed the Underwater Working Party, a small team of frogmen who had to learn on the job. With the need to be free swimming, the only equipment they could obtain was the Davis Submerged Escape Apparatus (DSEA), which had been designed by Siebe Gorman & Company to allow submariners to escape from damaged submarines.

© Getty Images

DIVERSE ROLE

The frogmen (known today as combat divers) rode underwater human torpedoes to target shipping. They also attached limpet mines to ships. They operated from a mini-submarine where they exited to cut anti-submarine nets and to place limpet mines on enemy ships. They used canoes to infiltrate rivers to reach targets, being able to carry a number of mines, while the diver could access and egress the canoe. Frogmen were used to survey beaches for suitability to land men and armoured vehicles, as well as clear beaches and shallow water of obstructions prior to an amphibious landing. They also carried out covert insertion for surveillance, small-scale attacks against specific targets, and water/land sabotage missions.

MAIN IMAGE Two Allied frogmen attack a German ship in Bordeaux, carefully placing a magnetic limpet mine into the water

Image by Howard Gerrard from The Cockleshell Raid: Bordeaux 1942 by Ken Ford © 2010 Osprey Publishing

FIRST MISSIONS

The first Italian frogman targets were the battleships Queen Elizabeth and Valiant while at anchor in Alexandria, Egypt. On 19 December 1941, six men and their three human torpedoes were carried within range by submarine, where they were launched and headed for the harbour. Slipping in unseen, two of the craft made for the two battleships while the other made for a tanker. Although the crews were captured, two of them by the Valiant, the Royal Navy did not know if their task had been successful until the charges detonated, crippling the three ships, as they had no divers to inspect the vessels. The Italians then turned their attention to Gibraltar, where a large number of Allied ships were gathered, and began human torpedo attacks, leaving explosive warheads attached to the ships so the frogmen could make good their escape while the targets blew up and sank. The small British Underwater Working Party had the task of diving under the ships to look for mines and remove any they found.

In addition to the human torpedo attacks, the Tenth Light Flotilla sent 12 Gamma swimmers to Spain, who would swim to the target area towing mines and then continue underwater for the final attack to place their mines. The British were looking for human torpedo attacks and directed their defences out to sea, while the Gamma group swam in through the unsuspecting and relatively undefended rear. On one operation 12 men, dressed in their rubber suits and fins on their feet, fitted the underwater breathing equipment and began an attack. They towed the mines, which were fitted with a rubber ring to keep them afloat during the swim, and when placed under the ship the ring was reinflated to hold the mine fast against the ship. Under cover of darkness the swimmers made good progress and reached their targets, which included the merchant ships Meta, Shuma, Baron, Douglas and the Empire Snipe. Each swimmer dived down and fitted a mine to a ship, before surfacing and beginning the long swim back to Spain and relative safety. From the confines of their safe house the swimmers were able to observe the results of the operation as the mines exploded, sinking the Allied ships.

© Royal Navy

NEW DIVING TECH

Underwater breathing equipment for frogmen was not generally available, as divers used the standard diver's hard hat equipment, which was heavy, cumbersome and relied on a pump to provide air. The British firm of Siebe Gorman had developed a closed-circuit underwater breathing system, called the Amphibian Mark 1, and established a factory in Italy for its production during the 1930s, after the British Admiralty had rejected all advances by the company on the grounds that the standard equipment was safer and the possibility of using free-swimming divers as combat troops was unthinkable. The Italians had the foresight to utilise the equipment and develop frogmen equipment such as rubber suits and fins for the feet, thus forming the first underwater special force, leaving the Allies totally unaware of such developments.

The DSEA breathing set was very basic and consisted of a flexible bag, which rested on the wearer's chest, a canister which contained a carbon dioxide absorbent, a rubber hose and mouthpiece, and a small bottle of oxygen. The wearer first opened the bottle of oxygen to fill the flexible bag so that when he breathed in oxygen would pass through the absorbent, up the hose and into his lungs. When he expired the breath, it returned back down the hose, through the absorbent and into the bag, the carbon dioxide having been removed. He could continue to breathe in this way for some time. The concept of this equipment was the foundation for future developments and designs.

© Getty Images

Using state-of-the-art equipment, Italian frogmen posed a lethal threat to Allied shipping in World War II

A DANGEROUS JOB

The combat diver faces many challenges, the first being that they operate in water in a covert situation and remaining under the water is paramount, but if there is a failure in the diver's breathing equipment it will mean surfacing. If there has been a leak in the equipment and the CO2 absorbent gets wet it can kill the diver. Exposed on the surface the diver could be visible to the enemy who would use guns or small explosive charges to attack and kill the diver and compromise the mission, placing other team members at risk. There are also all manner of sea creatures that could be harmful to the diver, and some countries use dolphins that are trained to hunt down and kill divers.

The combat diver reaching a target beach has to cautiously leave the sea and move onto land, where they are very exposed to enemy defences such as machine guns, mines etc. With a totally submerged insertion the amount of ammunition that can be carried by a combat diver is restricted and therefore firefights with the enemy are avoided. A combat diver can be subjected to a ship's sonar during an underwater attack as well as a ship's propellers, which can be used if a ship is under threat of attack. A combat diver locking in and out of a submerged submarine faces the danger of decompression sickness from unplanned changes of depth, and the same applies to the use of swimmer delivery vehicles and Dry Deck Shelters. Combat divers could be deployed in inclement weather conditions or poor sea states that can deteriorate and place the diver at risk.

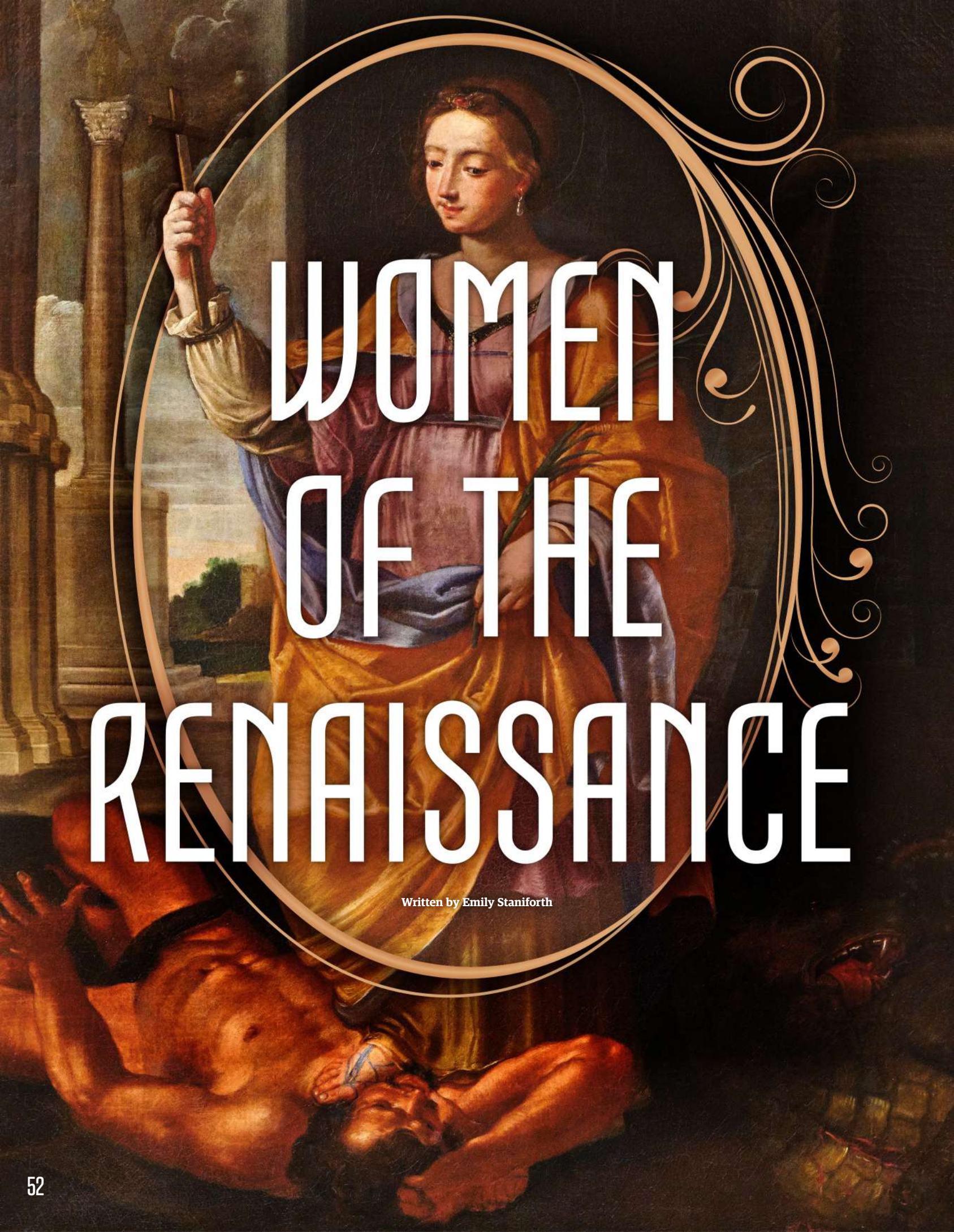
Since World War II the SBS have used the canoe as a method of transport for clandestine warfare

© Royal Navy

Combat Divers: An illustrated history of Special Forces divers by Michael G Welham is available from 31 January 2023 from Osprey Publishing

FROM FROGMAN TO COMBAT DIVER

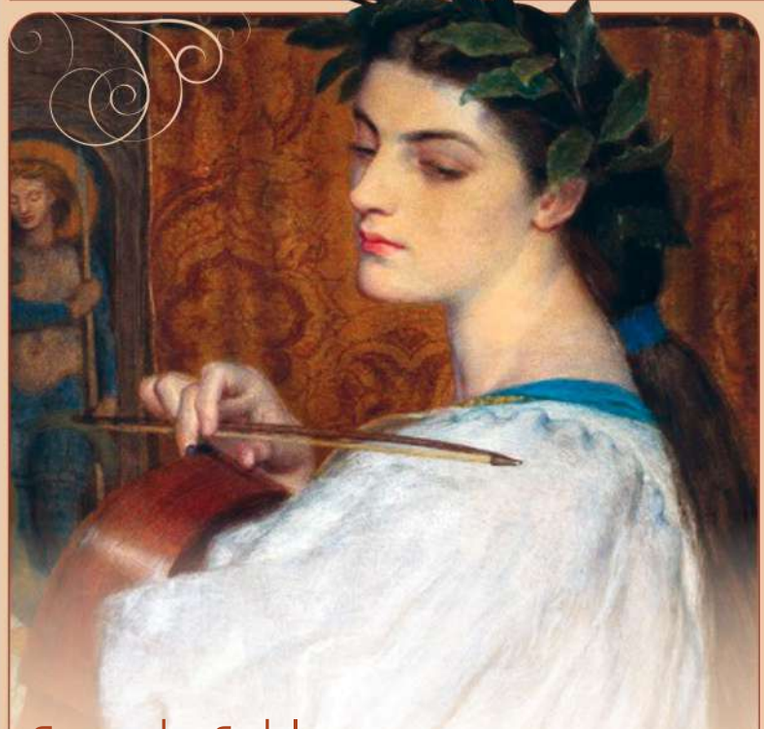
Following WWII most of the combat diver units and divers departed the military, leaving a small number, mainly for Royal Navy mine clearance operations. The Royal Marines adopted the Special Boat Squadron (SBS) who maintained the covert combat diver role with experience gained from the war. The general military view of special forces was that they had been useful, but would not be required in peacetime. That situation changed and in the USA the Navy SEALs were created based around combat diving. The US Army formed the Special Forces (Green Berets) and included combat divers in their formations. As conflicts have erupted around the world so has the need to have elite combat divers, as a few combat divers swimming underwater have an advantage.



WOMEN OF THE RENAISSANCE

Written by Emily Staniforth

From the 14th to the 17th century, the city-states that now make up Italy underwent a cultural transformation. As the Middle Ages drew to a close, a 'rebirth' or 'renaissance' of art, politics, economics and philosophy emerged from the Republic of Florence and began to spread throughout the region. In a period of rediscovering the classical culture of Ancient Greece and Rome, some of the greatest artists, intellectuals and inventors like Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo and Niccolò Machiavelli to name but a few dominated the cultural landscape and made their mark on the history of society and art. While these names are familiar to us, there was also a small but significant group of women who defied the expectations of their time and participated in arts and literary activities to contribute to the cultural revolution. Here are just a few of those remarkable women who may have been forgotten but deserve to be remembered for the significant role they played during the Renaissance.



Cassandra Fedele ***Writer and poet,*** *1465 – 1558*

Along with Isotta Nogarola, Cassandra Fedele was one of the most prominent female humanists of the Italian Renaissance. Born in Venice, there is very little known about Fedele's family. Her father ensured that Fedele received a classical education and she was tutored in both Greek and Latin by the friar Gasparino Borro. With a talent for writing and public speaking, Fedele gave a speech at the University of Padua in 1487 that caught the attention of notable Italian scholars. From then on, Fedele corresponded with humanists from across Italy and wrote both scholarly work and poetry. Unfortunately, very little of Fedele's work survives.

An offer from the future Queen of Spain, Isabella of Castile, to join her court is a testament to Fedele's fame, success and popularity. Fedele turned Isabella down, with some historians believing that the Doge of Venice would not have let the writer leave as she was an asset to the city. Unlike Christine de Pizan, Fedele did not appear to believe she could commit to a marriage and continue in her studies. Her scholarly activity seems to have ceased upon her marriage in 1499, and she very quickly disappeared from the humanist scene. However, in 1520, after her husband had died, Fedele wrote to Pope Paul III asking for help and was made the prioress of an orphanage in Venice. There is little evidence to suggest that Fedele continued her academic pursuits in private, but in 1556 she gave a rare speech in honour of the visiting queen of Poland. It is possible that she wrote poetry and a book called *The Order of the Sciences*, but none of this work has survived.

Isotta Nogarola ***Writer,*** *1418-66*

As the humanism movement took hold across Italy, having originated in Florence, writers and intellectuals as well as the nobility began to educate themselves, their families and their pupils in the humanist fashion. In Verona, Isotta Nogarola was provided with a humanist education by her wealthy parents. Though it was still unusual to educate girls, Nogarola's mother insisted that all her children be given an education. Nogarola's aunt, Angela Nogarola, was a poet with humanist connections that gave the young girl access to some of the greatest minds of the Renaissance. As a teenager, Nogarola began to correspond with prominent humanists, with whom she swapped books and letters.

Despite attacks on Nogarola, which came in the form of anonymous letters accusing her of incest and 'wantonness' now believed to have been sent by men who did not think women should be able to express their intellectual opinions, she continued to write profusely. Her most famous work was *Of the Equal or Unequal Sin of Adam and Eve*, a dialogue based on Nogarola's correspondence with the Venetian governor Ludovico Foscarini. Considered as one of the first feminist reassessments of the story of Adam and Eve, Nogarola posited that Eve was not to blame for the expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Nogarola spent her life dedicated to her writing and, unusually for a woman of the time, never married or joined a nunnery. She was admired by her fellow humanists and is considered as the first female figure of Italian humanism.

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Christine de Pizan ***Writer and poet,*** *1364 – c.1430*

Christine de Pizan was born in Venice at the very beginning of the Renaissance. Though she moved away from Italy at a young age – her family relocated to Paris due to her father's position as the astrologer to King Charles V – de Pizan's work as a writer and poet secured her a place in history as the first female humanist. The humanist movement advocated for an interest and education in the classical works of Ancient Greece and Rome with an emphasis on studying and understanding human nature. One of the earliest proponents of Renaissance humanism was Petrarch who, like de Pizan, wrote during the early Renaissance.

After the premature deaths of her father and husband, de Pizan was left to take care of her family. During her childhood, her father had ensured she had access to the best education and so de Pizan used her skills and began to write, becoming the first European woman to earn a living from writing. Her work, which drew on literature from antiquity, largely centred on feminist issues and discussed life in a patriarchal society, the lack of equality and education for women, and the achievements of women. Her writing also sometimes discussed thoughts on a fair world for both sexes. Surprisingly, despite mostly focussing on women, her work was popular with the upper classes of France and she made a comfortable living. As well as her feminist treatises, the most famous of which is *The Book of the City of Ladies*, de Pizan wrote poetry, letters and verses and boasted elite patrons like Queen Isabella of Bavaria, the 4th Earl of Salisbury and Duke Philip of Burgundy. She was commissioned by the latter to write a biography of his brother Charles V. De Pizan was an example to Renaissance women, showing them that they could make their own way in a male-dominated world. As a pioneer for both women and writers of the time, her work is still studied by scholars.

Properzia de' Rossi ***Sculptor,*** *c.1490 – 1530*

When looking at prominent female artists of the Renaissance, one woman in particular stands out. As the first woman featured in Giorgio Vasari's publication *The Lives of the Artists*, Properzia de' Rossi must have made a huge impression on the artist who has been styled by art historians as the 'Father of Art'. Born in Bologna, de' Rossi was unusual for a female artist in that she did not come from an artistic family: she was not trained by her family members like so many of the women who managed to become successful artists in their own right. Though little is known about her life, it is believed that de' Rossi was trained by Marcantonio Raimondi, an Italian engraver.

Joseph Fleeing Potiphar's Wife by Properzia de' Rossi

At the beginning of her career, de' Rossi made her engravings into the stones and pits of different fruits, presumably because her humble background meant she had limited access to expensive materials. Although her initial materials were not ideal for sculpting, the intricacies she achieved in her work, particularly on such tiny objects, was remarkable. Vasari wrote of her work: "And it was certainly a miracle to see on so small a thing as a peach-stone the whole Passion of Christ, wrought in the most beautiful carving, with a vast number of figures in addition to the Apostles and the ministers of the Crucifixion." Later in her career, de' Rossi worked as a sculptor on Bologna's Basilica of San Petronio. She also carved a family crest for the distinguished Grassi family. At the end of her life, her work had brought her to the attention of Pope Clement VII, who requested to meet her. However, de' Rossi died before the meeting could take place.

Sofonisba Anguissola

***Painter,** c.1532-1625*

Sofonisba Anguissola is a significant figure in the Italian Renaissance as she managed to become one of the most highly regarded and internationally renowned painters of the 16th century. Unlike many of the other female painters highlighted here, Anguissola has been remembered by artists and her work documented by artists and historians alike in the years after her death.

Born into a noble family in Cremona, Sofonisba, along with her sisters, was trained in painting by prominent artists Bernardino Campi and Bernardino Gatti.

Her talents made her stand out, with Vasari writing of her: "Sofonisba of Cremona... has laboured at the difficulties of design with greater study and better grace than any other woman of our time, and she has not only succeeded in drawing, colouring and copying from nature, and in making excellent copies of works by other hands, but has also executed by herself alone some very choice and beautiful works of painting."

While studying under Gatti, Anguissola's work caught the attention of Michelangelo, who engaged in written correspondence with her. She sent him paintings which he critiqued, and in one famed episode responded to a painting of a girl laughing by asking Anguissola to instead paint a boy crying, as he believed this a more difficult task to master. The resulting work is said to have inspired a piece painted later by Caravaggio.

Anguissola became famous throughout Europe for her portraiture in particular, as a result of which she was invited by Philip II of Spain to be a lady-in-waiting to his wife, Elizabeth of Valois. While there, she tutored the queen in painting and drawing and painted portraits of members of the Spanish court. She remained there for ten years before returning to Italy, where she spent the rest of her life. In 1624 the Flemish Baroque artist Anthony van Dyck visited Anguissola in Palermo, where he sketched her.

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Lavinia Fontana

***Painter,* 1552 - 1614**

The first professional female painter, Lavinia Fontana was ranked among the most esteemed artists of the Italian Renaissance by her contemporaries. When compared with other respected and well-known male painters, Fontana's work sold for similar prices and her patrons included royalty and nobility. As the daughter of the Bolognian painter Prospero Fontana, she was taught to paint by her father and quickly garnered a reputation as a highly skilled portraitist. When Fontana married fellow artist Gian Paolo Zappi, her father did not provide a dowry, citing Lavinia's ability to accrue wealth through her own talent. She became one of the most popular portrait artists among the noble women of Bologna for her ability to capture not only an accurate likeness but her skill in depicting the fashion of the time. Fontana also became the official portraitist for the University of Bologna, and painting the scholars of the city helped her to gain fame outside of Bologna.

Fontana's talents were not only confined to portraiture and her wider artistic skills saw her become the first woman to be commissioned (by the Archbishop of Bologna) to create an altarpiece. She would go on to produce several more altarpieces throughout her career, including one in 1589 that was purchased by Philip II of Spain. Fontana continued to expand her repertoire when she started to paint female nudes, reportedly the first woman to do so, the earliest of which is dated from 1585. In 1604, Fontana moved her family (she had 11 children) to Rome upon the invitation of Pope Clement VIII. She was patronised by both Clement and his successor Pope Paul V, the latter of whom even posed for her. Before her death Fontana was inducted into the Accademia di San Luca - the first woman to be elected into the prestigious association of artists.

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Elisabetta Sirani *Painter, 1638-65*

At the age of 19, Elisabetta Sirani headed up a workshop in her hometown of Bologna. She had been the apprentice of her father, the artist Giovanni Andrea Sirani, during her childhood and when her father was no longer able to paint she had taken over the running of his workshop in order to provide for her family. A successful painter in her own right, Sirani became well-known for her ability to work at speed, with members of the public often visiting the workshop to watch her paint. Her work often depicted religious scenes and was purchased by the elite of Europe, with her patrons including Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici and the King of Poland.

Sirani never left Bologna, although that did not hinder her in making her name as an artist, and she set up an art academy to tutor the young women of Bologna in drawing and painting. This centre was the first school of art exclusively for European women that was not a convent. Her efforts to bring art to the women of Italy did not go unnoticed, and when she died suddenly at the age of 27 there was a public outpouring of grief. At the time of her death there were suspicions that Sirani had been murdered, as the coroner recorded that her demise was a result of corrosive poisoning. One of Sirani's maids was even put on trial, though the charges were later withdrawn. Historians now believe Sirani probably died of peritonitis (abdominal infection). The people of Bologna gave her a funeral fit for a noblewoman.

The Finding of Moses by Elisabetta Sirani

Marietta 'la Tintoretta' Robusti *Painter, c.1560-90*

As the daughter of one of Venice's most admired painters, Marietta Robusti had access to the tutelage of a Renaissance master. Tintoretto taught his eldest daughter to paint, according to her biographer Carlo Ridolfi, and she came to be a skilled portrait artist. Sometimes known as 'la Tintoretta', the female version of her father's nickname, which came from his father's profession as a cloth dyer (or tintore), and sometimes as 'buona ritrattista', meaning 'good portrait painter', Robusti painted many Venetian portraits. However, as Robusti painted in her father's workshop and rarely signed her name to paintings, it has been difficult for art historians to attribute works to her in any certainty.

Though we only have a few of Robusti's works to analyse, Ridolfi's 17th century biography provides us with an insight into her success during her own lifetime. Ridolfi claims that one of the most important portraits painted by Robusti was of Jacopo Strada, a relation of Emperor Maximilian. As a result of this portrait, her work was brought to the attention of the royal families of Europe and she was invited to join the courts of the Emperor and later Philip II of Spain. However, her father forbade her from going and she spent the rest of her life painting in his workshop.

Plautilla Nelli *Painter and nun, 1524-88*

Pulisena Margherita Nelli was born in Florence and was sent by her parents to a convent as a teenager. When she entered the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina di Cafaggio, Nelli changed her name to Sister Plautilla and it was expected that she would spend the rest of her life in religious devotion. However, Sister Plautilla had other plans. Despite being committed to a holy life, she pursued her interest in art and taught herself how to paint. It is believed that she inherited some of the works of the Renaissance painter Fra Bartolomeo and studying these helped her to perfect her technique and style.

Nelli, who is credited as Florence's first female artist, sold her paintings throughout the city. In *The Lives of the Artists*, Vasari wrote: "There were so many of her paintings in the houses of gentlemen in Florence, it would be tedious to mention them all." At the convent, Nelli formed a workshop consisting of her fellow nuns, whom she tutored and worked alongside. Together, they produced artwork that they sold to raise funds for the convent. Nelli was head of the convent three times, and led the nunnery not only as a spiritual centre but also as an artistic hub for female artists. Though she was largely forgotten by history, an effort to showcase her works in recent years has led to an increased interest in her.

THE *Fabulous* LIFE OF HARVEY MILK

The empowering story of San Francisco's first openly gay elected official, whose life came to a tragic end

Written by Callum McKelvie

San Francisco has long held a reputation as the 'Gay Capital of the World', with more of its citizens identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans than anywhere else in the United States. Every year the city hosts a huge pride celebration, with over 200 contingents taking part in the 2022 parade. A figure key in San Francisco's LGBTQ+ past is a man called Harvey Milk – one of the first elected officials to be open about their homosexuality in the history of the United States. Milk's career saw him fight passionately for LGBTQ+ rights, memorably campaigning against John Briggs' Proposition 6 and introducing legislation that protected the rights of queer persons within San Francisco. However, on 27 November 1978 Milk was assassinated in a brutal killing that shocked and horrified the city that he loved so much.

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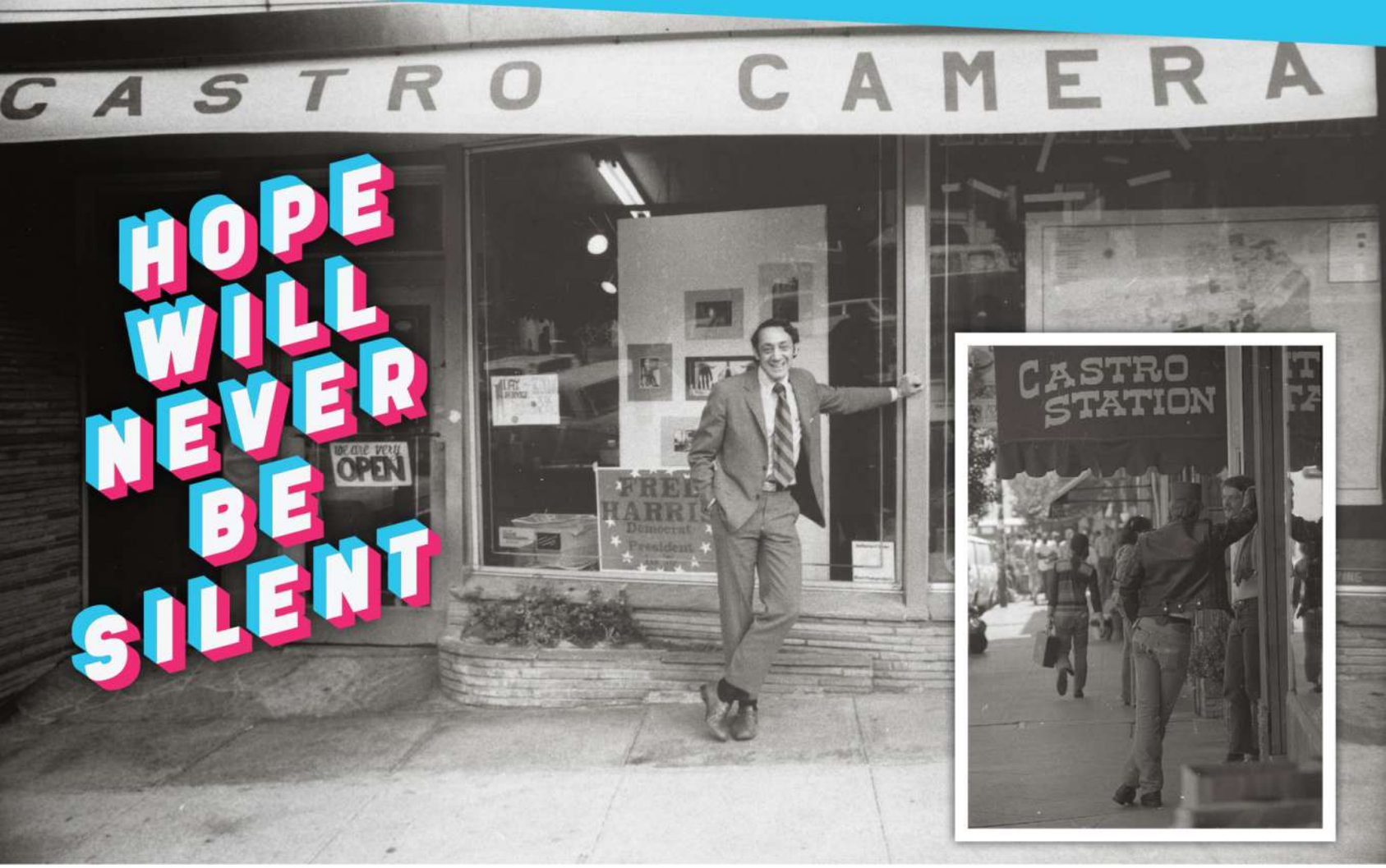
HOPE WILL NEVER BE SILENT



Milk was born in the suburbs of New York on the 22 May 1930 to Jewish parents William Milk and Minerva Karns. The youngster struggled with his parents' Judaism and would eventually drift away from the religion, though Milk's biographer Lillian Faderman maintains that its cultural values remained important to him throughout his life. From a young age Milk was aware that he was homosexual. A keen lover of opera, it was in the standing room only section of the balcony at the Manhattan Opera House that Milk experienced his first sexual liaisons, according to his biographer Randy Shilts. However, Milk was conscious of the need to hide his homosexuality and any interests that he felt might label him as such. Therefore at school he hid his love of opera under his prowess as a sportsman.

As a young man he continued to explore his sexuality and the year before he went to college he frequented a cruising area of New York City's Central Park. On one occasion he was caught topless and arrested with a group of other gay men. When the teenage Milk was questioned he proclaimed his innocence and argued that he had only removed his shirt in order to get a suntan. The ruse worked but the event angered Milk. Throughout his later political career he would campaign vigorously to curtail the harassment of gay men by police officers.

Graduating with a maths degree in 1951, Milk served for a short while in the United States Navy, including a stint during the Korean War as a diving officer. However, after a gruelling interview in which his superiors questioned him about his homosexuality (the result being a 152-page document detailing his trysts, the *Bay Area Reporter* newspaper revealed in 2020) he was discharged. What was the 20-something Milk to do now? For the next two years he worked in both insurance and finance and for the most part continued to build his life in New York. But for Milk something was missing. At this time it has been argued he was effectively living two lives, remaining closeted about his homosexuality while also campaigning for the conservative Senator Barry Goldwater.

Yet things were about to change for Milk. Through his partner, Jack Galen McKinley, he became friends with the theatrical director Tom O'Horgan, who staged the first Broadway productions of *Hair* and *Jesus Christ Superstar*. Working for O'Horgan as a stage manager during the production of *Hair*, McKinley's stories of San Francisco's liberal homosexual social circle enticed Milk. O'Horgan's influence, as well as the changing politics of the times, resulted in a powerful change in Milk and his personal politics underwent a seismic shift. After being fired from his job for taking part in an anti-war rally, Milk himself worked for O'Horgan as a production associate and immersed himself more fully in San Francisco's gay scene.

It is important to emphasise how liberating the 1970s were for queer persons. The first pride marches were organised and over

ABOVE Harvey Milk outside Castro Camera, which he opened in 1969 with his partner Scott Smith

ABOVE-INSET During the 1970s San Francisco and the Castro in particular were a hive of gay culture

BELOW Milk during his failed 1975 bid to join the California State Assembly

The White Night Riots

Following the trial of Milk's killer Dan White, San Francisco erupted in a night of rage

When Dan White was convicted of voluntary manslaughter on 21 May 1979, a crowd of 500 protesters quickly swelled to an estimated 5,000, who angrily began marching toward City Hall. Police arrived to attempt to control the situation. However, White's links to the police were well known, not to mention that members of the city's constabulary had supposedly donated $100,000 to supplement White's legal fees. Stories of officers wearing 'Free Dan White' T-Shirts under their uniforms added to the feeling of a conspiracy and of law enforcement being purposefully too lenient towards White. The crowd's anger continued to grow.

Then the police began using violence, despite orders to the contrary, attacking the crowd with nightsticks. Chaos erupted, with some protestors setting police cars on fire and attacking City Hall. Police Chief Charles Gain stated his officers were not to retaliate but after three hours they disobeyed him, using tear gas and forcing the crowd to disperse.

A few hours later, a squad of police officers ventured to the Castro and raided the Elephant Walk bar – a well-known gay establishment in what was very quickly seen as retaliatory action. But their violence was not limited to this venue alone and they proceeded to attack the neighbourhood at large. According to Found SF, San Francisco's Digital Archive, one witness even heard stories of a man's knee being injured when police burst in on him at his own dining table. Having heard that the officers had disobeyed his orders Gain went down to the district himself and upon seeing the damage ordered the officers to withdraw.

The next day, Harry Britt gave a press conference in which he stated: "Harvey Milk's people do not have anything to apologise for. Now the society is going to have to deal with us not as nice little fairies who have hairdressing salons, but as people capable of violence. We're not going to put up with Dan Whites anymore."

1,000 gay organisations and clubs were founded throughout the course of the decade. In particular, San Francisco quickly became something of a haven for gay men and a hive of underground culture. This was the period of the Cockettes, a radical drag troupe who became one of the key attractions of the Nocturnal Dream Shows, popular experimental film nights at the Pagoda Palace. In 1972, the Twin Peaks Tavern on Castro Street became the first gay bar in the US not to black-out its windows. Even before all this, in 1964 *Time* magazine had referred to San Francisco as the "Gay Capital of America".

Having fallen in love with San Francisco, in 1972 Milk made the decision to move there permanently. In 1969 he had met Scott Smith and the two quickly became lovers, opening a camera shop together on Castro Street – a well-known gay area. Milk thrived in the bustling gay sene but found himself increasingly angered by the political climate of the time. This was the period of the Vietnam War and the Watergate Scandal. "I finally reached the point where I knew I had to become involved or shut up," he later said. In 1973, he decided to act and ran for the position of city supervisor of San Francisco. His long-haired 'hippie' appearance damaged his credibility but Milk refused to have it cut, stating: "I entered the campaign with it, I'll end it that way too."

Milk was not successful in his bid. The established gay political circles felt that he was too much of a newcomer to San Francisco and not established enough. The perception of him as a hippie didn't help much either – but Milk had no intention of giving up and would try once more, though again without success, in 1975.

However, by this time Milk had begun to establish himself as a leading force among San Francisco's homosexual community, earning the nickname 'the mayor of Castro Street'. He fought on the idea that homosexuals must be out and proud and he valiantly campaigned to improve gay rights. During this time he worked with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) union, encouraging gay bars to boycott Coors beer (the company was accused of being both anti-gay and anti-union), and in return the IBT pledged that more homosexual drivers would be hired. He also launched the Castro Street Fair and Castro Village Association, the first organisation of LGBTQ+ business owners in the United States. Castro Camera became a community hub, with Milk assisting a wide variety of groups and persons, and seeking to help wherever he could.

In 1977 Milk again tried for a position on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, having successfully campaigned for an amendment that changed the elections to being district-focussed. This meant that Milk could now rely on the votes of the power base he had spent years building in the Castro Street area. However, he understood that in order to win he would also need to appeal to non-LGBTQ+ voters. To this end he pledged to create

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Queer Political Trailsblazers

Four LGBTQ+ individuals who made history in the world of politics

Anthony Bacon

It was the brother of Sir Francis Bacon, Anthony, who is said to have been Britain's first homosexual MP. In 1586, while in Montauban, France, he was supposedly charged with sodomy. Although the case never made it to court, in the aftermath Anthony was forced to return to England.

Maureen Colquhoun

Colquhoun was the Labour MP for Northampton North (1974-79) and the first openly lesbian MP. She campaigned for women's rights, seeking to introduce abortion on demand and the Protection of Prostitutes Bill in 1979. She caused controversy when asking the speaker to refer to her as 'Ms' instead of 'Mrs'. An attempt by the Labour Party to deselect her due to her sexuality was overruled, but she lost her seat in the 1979 election.

Harry Britt

Harvey Milk's successor, Britt himself was a trailblazer and was the first openly gay president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Britt was the author of the first domestic partner legislation in the United States, laws which sought to protect unmarried homosexual relationships.

Danica Roem

The first openly transgender person to be elected to the Virginia House of Delegates, Roem was first out trans person to be seated in a state legislature in the history of the USA. She has campaigned tirelessly to improve the lives of her constituents, introducing legislation to help feed hungry children, and has worked to promote equality.

day-care centres for mothers, make low-income housing available and also reform the tax code, among other policies.

What thoughts ran through Milk's head as he waited for the votes to come in that night? After his previous losses had he perhaps resigned himself to defeat? Or did he somehow know that come morning he would make history as the first openly gay elected official on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors? It was a historic election, noteworthy not just for Milk's victory but also as it saw the first African American woman and Chinese American elected to the Board. Once elected Milk wasted no time and began campaigning for a slew of policies that would improve the rights of LGBTQ+ persons in the city. One of the key pieces of legislation that he sought to pass was a Gay Rights Bill that protected the gay and lesbian citizens of San Francisco from facing discrimination in both employment and housing.

Perhaps the most important moment of Milk's time in office came when he fought against the Briggs Initiative, otherwise known as Proposition 6. Named after and spearheaded by California legislator John Briggs, this motion sought to ban gay and lesbian persons from working in schools. Briggs' key supporter, Anita Bryant, had a track record of anti-LGBTQ+ lobbying and in 1977 had successfully campaigned to repeal Dade County legislation that prevented discrimination based on sexuality. Realising what was at stake, Milk fought hard to stop Proposition 6 passing. He wrote to President Jimmy Carter and demanded he "take a leadership role in defending the rights of

FAR-LEFT Milk celebrates his watershed election victory in 1977

LEFT The killer of Milk and Mayor George Moscone, Dan White

BELOW A large group protests against the Briggs Initiative in San Francisco, 1978

straights for gay rights
NO! ON THE BRIGGS INITIATIVE B.A.C.A.R.I.
HETEROS COME OUT FOR GAY RIGHT
STRAIGHTS FOR GAY RIGHTS
PLEASE RAISE YOUR

gay people. As the President of a nation which includes 15-20 million lesbians and gay men." Milk also encouraged closeted homosexuals to come out to their friends and family, stating: "You will hurt them if you come out, but think of how they will hurt you if they vote for Briggs."

The Briggs campaign was fought primarily on the claim that LGBTQ+ persons were a threat to children – an argument that Milk successfully deconstructed in a television debate with fellow activist, Sally M Gearhart. In one memorable moment during the campaign, Milk gave a powerful speech in which he stated: "The only thing they have to look forward to is hope. And you have to give them hope. Hope for a better world, hope for a better tomorrow, hope for a better place to come to if the pressures at home are too great. Hope that all will be all right." After a tireless campaign by pro-LGBTQ+ activists, Milk had achieved just that. The Briggs Initiative was successfully defeated by a vote of 58.4 percent to 41.6 percent.

One person who frequently attempted to block Milk's legislation was fellow supervisor and ex-policeman and fireman Dan White. When asked about the Gay Rights Bill, White purportedly remarked crassly: "This bill lets a man in a dress be a teacher. People are getting angry!" Despite White appearing to get on amiably with Milk at first, in April 1978 Milk had supported a motion for a drug rehabilitation centre to be built in White's constituency. White appears to have viewed this as a gross betrayal and from then on he harboured a grudge against Milk, a grudge that his biographer Faderman says became "fanatical".

At the start of November White resigned from his position on San Francisco's Board of Supervisors, a decision he almost immediately regretted. When Mayor George Moscone refused to reinstate him, White suspected that Milk might have campaigned to prevent it. After purportedly falling into an increasingly depressed state, on the morning of 27 November White used a lower-storey window to enter City Hall. Making his way to Moscone's office, White pulled out a gun and proceeded to shoot him. He then made his way to Milk's office, where he shot him five times at close range. White was apprehended shortly afterwards. Having previously feared assassination, Milk had recorded a taped will in which he stated: "If I am killed, let that bullet destroy every closet door."

That evening the city of San Francisco mourned openly, with thousands attending a candlelit vigil in memory of Moscone and Milk. By January Harry Britt, an openly gay man and activist himself, had been appointed to succeed Milk. That same month, the preliminary court hearing for the trial of White began. In a notorious turn of events, White's legal team argued that he had been under increasing pressure and was suffering from mental health issues and depression. White was previously known for being health conscious and his lawyers argued that his excessive consumption of junk food prior to the shootings was evidence of his depressed state. This was derisively nicknamed 'the Twinkie defence'. White's conviction on the lesser charge of voluntary manslaughter angered citizens of San Francisco who responded with a series of angry protests, known as the White Night Riots.

Even after his tragic death Milk's story continued to inspire. In 2008 Gus Van Sant directed *Milk*, which brought his story to a brand new audience and saw Sean Penn win an Oscar for his portrayal of Milk. The same year, a statue of Milk was unveiled at San Francisco City Hall and in 2009 California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger signed a bill announcing 22 May as Harvey Milk Day. The same year, President Barack Obama honoured Milk by granting him a posthumous Presidential Medal of Freedom, praising Milk's "visionary courage and conviction". The Harvey Milk Foundation, established by his nephew Stuart Milk and aide Anne Kronenberg, continues to commemorate his legacy and promote his values.

Today, Milk's legacy and message remain as vital and important as ever. In the previous year the United States witnessed a shooting at the LGBTQ+ bar Club Q in Colorado Springs where five people were killed and 17 injured. In a world where the rate of anti-LGBTQ+ hate crime remains high, it is important to remember Harvey Milk as someone who fought hard for greater freedoms and rights for LGBTQ+ persons.

BELOW Protesters march against the verdict given to Harvey Milk's killer, Dan White

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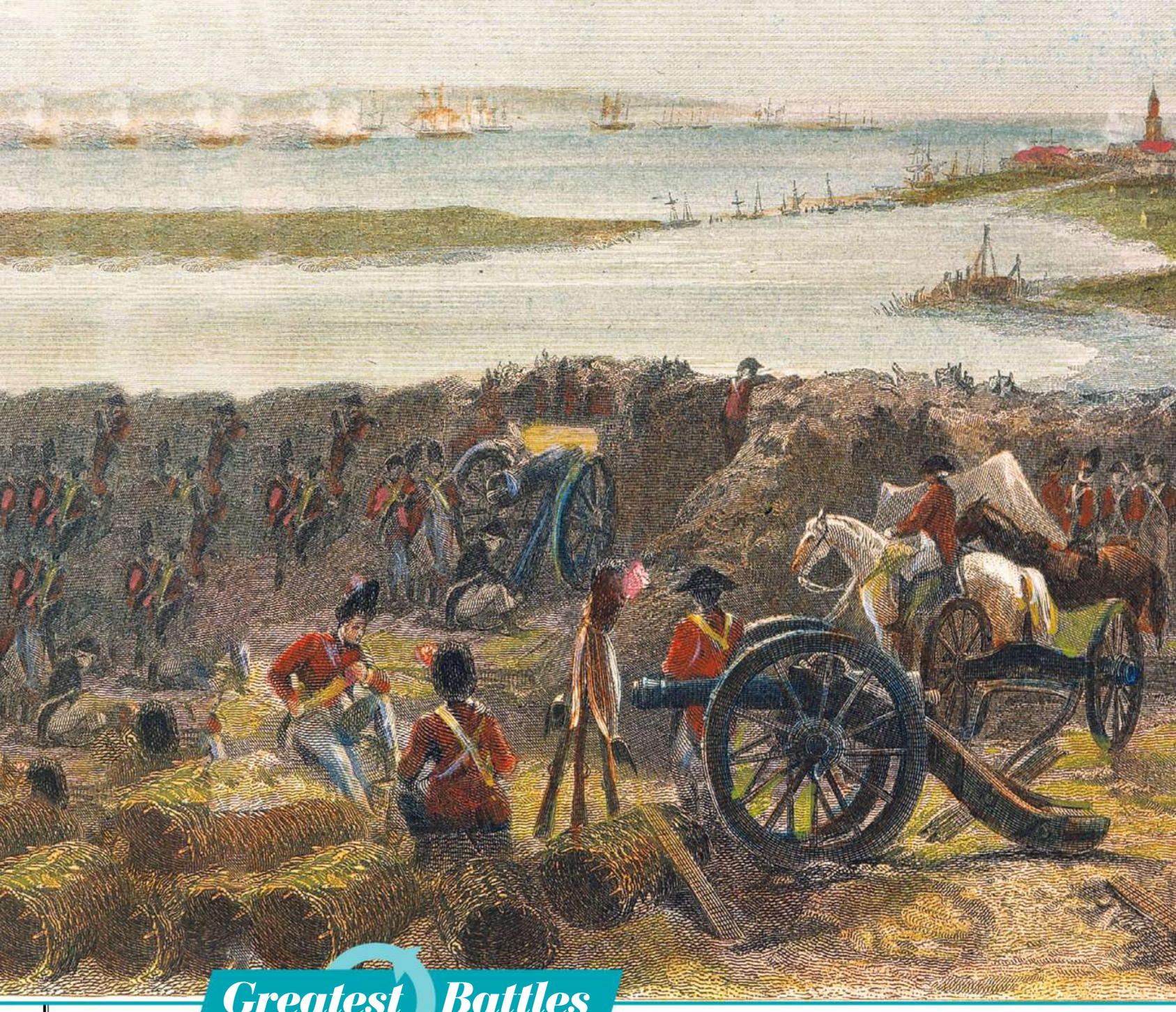

Greatest Battles

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, 29 MARCH – 12 MAY 1780

Written by David Smith

In 1780, the American War of Independence had been raging for five years and the British were no nearer to subduing their former colonists. Fighting in the north had seen the British win many battles but also suffer serious setbacks. Now, they were ready to try a new strategy and an army of 8,000 men boarded ships at New York and headed south to capture the city of Charleston. This was to be the launchpad for a new campaign.

Charleston was well defended by both regular troops and militia, and reinforcements were also sent to bolster the garrison, but the British were able to mount a patient and effective siege that eventually forced the Americans to surrender. Thousands of troops were captured and the American cause appeared to have been mortally wounded, especially as the British followed up with

British forces employed centuries-old siege tactics to eventually force Charleston's surrender

© Alamy

a major victory at the Battle of Camden. Crucially, enough American forces remained to keep the spark of the revolution alive, and the southern colonies rallied to once more frustrate British plans.

CHARLESTON'S DEFENCES

The city of Charleston occupied the lower end of the peninsula between the Cooper and Ashley Rivers, on the coast of South Carolina. It was the fourth-largest city in the colonies at the time and plans had been underway for some time to strengthen it. A small British force had threatened the city the previous year, prompting the improvement of defences that had first been constructed in the 1750s.

A line of defensive works stretched across the neck of the peninsula, protected by a two-metre-deep ditch. Further obstacles, including a deep canal and chevaux de frise (clusters of sharpened stakes designed to slow down enemy troops) lay beyond this ditch, while the main line of works housed 79 field guns as well as a howitzer and mortars.

The Charleston garrison was commanded by Major General Benjamin Lincoln, a respected officer who had seen extensive action during the war so far. His best men were brigades of Continental troops from South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, although he also had substantial numbers of less-effective militia.

The American defences were also boosted by 'the bar', a substantial sandbar just outside the harbour that prevented the biggest British warships from crossing to threaten the town itself. This levelled the playing field slightly for the small American naval force, which had no major warships of its own.

The British had the benefit of naval superiority thanks to the presence of four 'ships of the line' and a larger number of smaller frigates than the Americans could muster. However, the admiral in command of the British fleet, Mariot Arbuthnot, proved to be a slow and indecisive commander who offered little or no support to his army counterpart, Lieutenant General Henry Clinton.

Clinton, who had been second-in-command of British forces during the early years of the war, was launching his first campaign as commander-in-chief and although his numbers gave him a distinct advantage, the lack of close cooperation with his naval forces would be a problem.

Siege warfare in the 18th century was a highly refined, scientific process that offered little hope for the besieged town unless relief could be sent from outside. There was no large army marching to Lincoln's aid, meaning that his only hope was to draw out the siege until the British simply gave up and turned their attention elsewhere.

There was one other potentially dangerous factor that needed to be taken into consideration. The French had entered the war on the side of the Americans following the surrender of a British army at Saratoga in 1777. Although they had made no serious contribution to the war as yet, if a large French fleet were to appear (and there was no way of knowing if one was already on its way), Clinton's plans could be turned upside down.

THE SIEGE BEGINS

Clinton left New York with his army on 26 December 1779 but the journey southwards took weeks. Severe storms hit the fleet as soon as it set sail and it overshot its target, landing on the Georgia coastline at the end of January. One ship, carrying Hessian troops, lost its mast and was blown all the way across the Atlantic to England. Another ship, carrying most of the army's heavy siege guns, was sunk.

Most of the horses for Clinton's small number of mounted troops had also been lost en route, so after setting a small party ashore to gather fresh mounts, Clinton ordered the fleet to sea again. On 11 February they finally landed near Charleston, on Simmons Island, but the siege was not to start for weeks as Clinton manoeuvred his men into position. They didn't move onto the neck of the Charleston peninsula until 29 March, crossing the Ashley River on flat-bottomed landing craft.

George Washington had sent troops from his main army to reinforce Charleston as soon as he was sure the British would be heading there. The problem was, with the Royal Navy commanding the seas, reinforcements had to travel overland. Two regiments of Continental soldiers, numbering more than 800 men from North Carolina, started to march south before the end of 1779, but they did not arrive until 3 March the following year.

A larger force (2,500 Virginia Continentals) was also sent, but only around 800 reached Charleston as the rest needed to be fitted with new uniforms. Those that did reach Charleston did not arrive until 7-8 April. This improved the defensive capabilities of the city but, unfortunately for Lincoln, the British were also planning to increase the size of their force – Clinton had called for more men from New York.

Not everything was progressing smoothly for the British, however. It was common knowledge in his army that Clinton had written to London asking for permission to resign and return home. His second-in-command, Charles, Lord Cornwallis, was poised to take over, but just as the siege was about to begin in earnest, Clinton heard that his request had been denied. This was disappointing, but he resolved to press ahead with his operations. Less understandable was the reaction of Cornwallis, who rather petulantly insisted that he no longer wished to be consulted on any plans Clinton might propose. Withdrawing this support was a petty move but it was symptomatic of the strained relationship between the two men.

At Charleston, a large number of American reinforcements were reportedly waylaid as they were being fitted with new uniforms

THE BRITISH PLAN

18th-century warfare was often a series of intricate manoeuvres and nowhere was this more evident than during a siege. The processes by which a city was approached were scientific and very difficult to resist. On 1 April, Clinton's men began work.

The principles of siegecraft called for a series of trenches to be built, parallel to the defensive walls of the city. Three such 'parallels' would be built, moving steadily closer to their target. The third trench would be close enough for the attacking force to storm the city, but the defenders would usually surrender before allowing that to happen.

The British started by building three small forts, known as redoubts, to form the strongpoints in their first parallel. The range was a little less than 1km from the Charleston defences and the Americans responded the next day, using their artillery in an attempt to disrupt progress on the parallel.

The fire was ineffective, however, and on 7 April the first parallel was completed. Clinton now ordered his own artillery to take up positions in the line. This was problematic following the loss of most of his heavy guns on the journey from New York, but Arbuthnot obliged by lending guns from his own warships.

Up to this point, Lincoln could have evacuated his men from the city and lived to fight another day. In many ways, this would have been the sensible thing to do, but civilian leaders within the city were furious at any suggestion of being abandoned. It did not seem to be a critical question, as the British fleet had not yet sealed off the last possible escape route, over the Cooper River.

Meanwhile, Clinton was becoming exasperated with his naval counterpart, Arbuthnot, who kept promising to move ships into the Cooper yet had failed to do so.

While he waited for the admiral to make a move, Clinton opened the bombardment of Charleston's defences on 13 April. The artillery focussed on the defensive wall protecting Charleston, but some shots also fell in the city itself. Some of the British gunners used 'hot shot', cannonballs that had been heated before firing, which resulted in several fires breaking out in the city until Clinton furiously ordered this practice to be stopped. Lincoln had by this time been invited to surrender, but he stubbornly refused even though his position was becoming increasingly untenable.

After the siege the British soon secured another victory, at Battle of Camden in August 1780

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The British had rebuilt their cavalry wing, following the capture of local horses, and the mercurial light cavalry commander Banastre Tarleton was making a thorough nuisance of himself. At the head of his British Legion Tarleton launched a savage assault on a small American force at Monck's Corner, killing 15 men, capturing 63 and also taking possession of around 400 more horses. Tarleton would become a bête noire for the Americans, hated as much as he was feared, and he would enjoy many more successes before his reign of terror was ended.

On 18 April, around 2,500 troops arrived from New York to swell Clinton's numbers. This enabled him to place enough men on the east bank of the Cooper to block the last exit from Charleston. There was now no hope of escape for the Americans and only the arrival of a large army or French fleet could save them.

THE FALL OF CHARLESTON

By this time the British had completed their second parallel, closer to the Charleston defences. In response, the Americans built a new redoubt of their own to allow riflemen to fire on the men constructing the parallels. Clinton responded by placing his best men, Hessian light infantry known as 'jaegers', into his second parallel.

The progress of a siege may have been predictable and even inevitable, but it was not easy. Nightfall became a frightening time for both sides as the Americans launched small-scale attacks on the British lines, which were fended off by the Hessians and British. Casualties mounted on both sides.

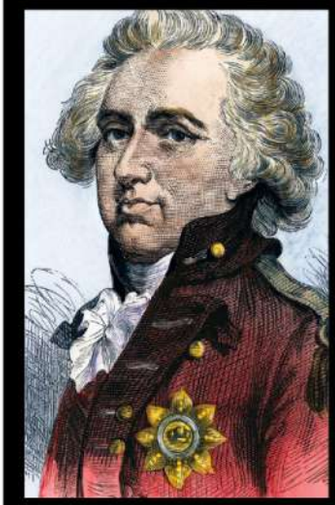
By 20 April, Lincoln realised his position was hopeless. The British had started work on their third and final parallel. Once it was completed they would be in a position to storm the city, and Lincoln called a meeting to discuss the possibility of evacuating his best troops to save them from inevitable capture. He was met with furious resistance from Lieutenant Governor Christopher Gadsden, who insisted the troops should not leave.

Lincoln bowed to this pressure, but was well aware of how hopeless the situation was. On 21 April he offered to surrender, but the terms he suggested were so lenient (including allowing the entire garrison to walk free and giving them a 10-day head start before any pursuit was mounted) that Clinton was never likely to agree.

On the night of the 23rd, a party of 200 South Carolina and Virginia troops emerged from the American lines under cover of darkness and attacked the British in their third parallel. It was a small-scale skirmish, and the British lost just eight men, as well as seeing a further 12 captured, but it unnerved the besiegers and the following night a panic erupted in their lines despite the Americans not venturing anywhere near them.

Nevertheless, progress was steady. American fortifications including Fort Moultrie (which had resisted an attack way back in 1776) and Fort Lampriers fell into British hands, and the defensive

GREAT BRITAIN



HENRY CLINTON

Clinton arrived in North America in 1775 and was commander-In-chief of British forces from 1778 to 1782. Basing himself out of New York, his tenure coincided with the French joining the Americans, adding extra complexity to the war. Clinton was also a Member of Parliament and was to be governor of Gibraltar, but died before being able to take the position.

CHARLES CORNWALLIS

As second in command to Clinton for the British forces in North America, Cornwallis was left in charge of things when Clinton returned to New York after Charleston. A year later, at Yorktown, Cornwallis would surrender to the American and French troops, bringing the war to a close in the region. He went on to work in Ireland and India.

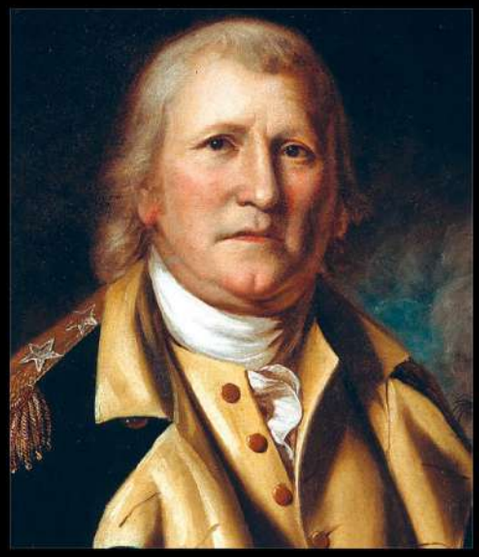
MARIOT ARBUTHNOT

Vice Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot was in charge of the British naval support for the siege and it was to both Clinton and Arbuthnot that the city addressed its surrender. Despite a poor reputation as a tactician and leader, he was promoted to vice-admiral of the White shortly after Charleston and was made vice-admiral of the Blue in early 1793.

UNITED STATES

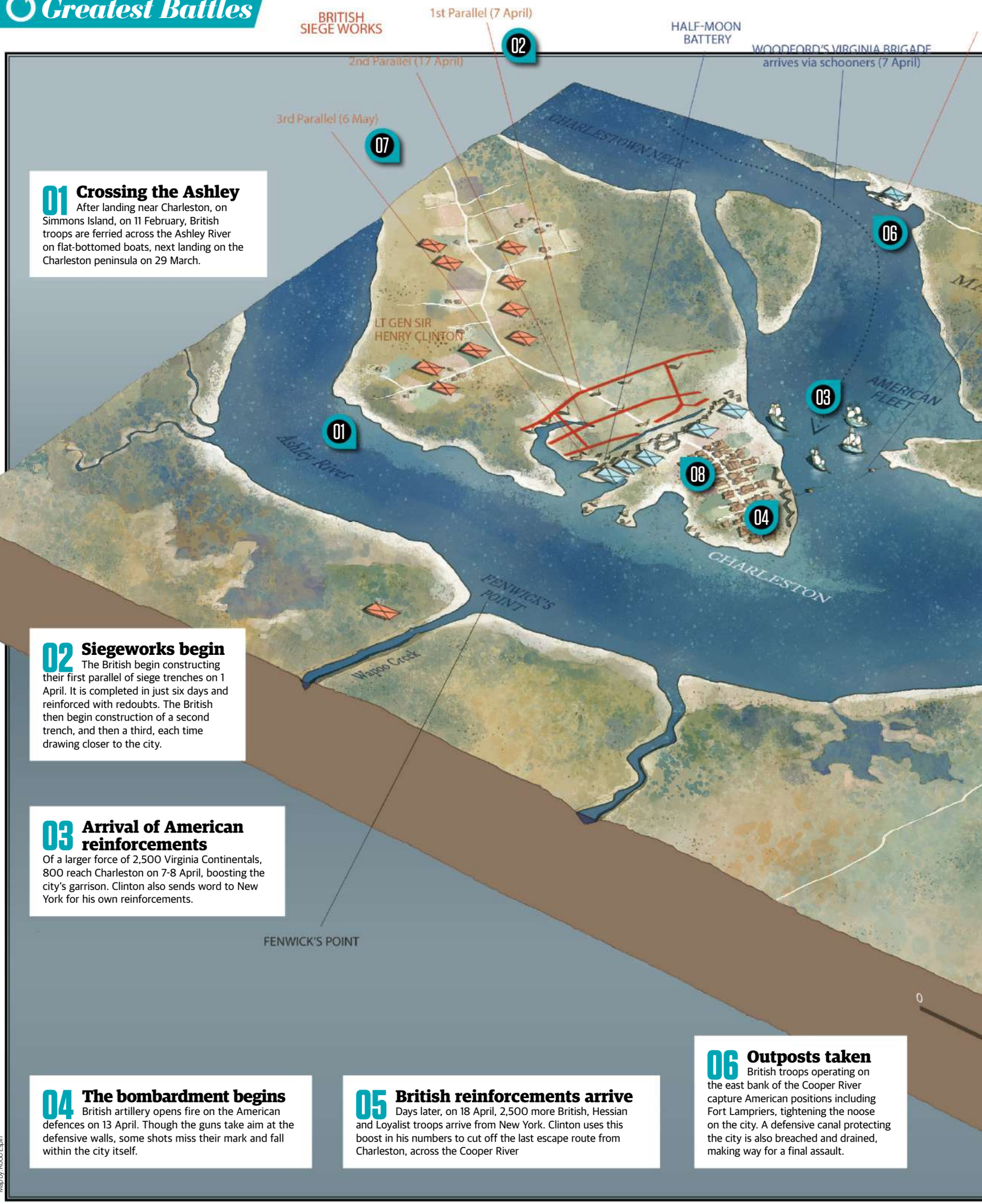
BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Lincoln was involved in three important surrenders during the American Revolutionary War: first at the Battles of Saratoga, where the British surrendered; then Charleston, where he was forced to surrender; and finally Yorktown, where the sword of Cornwallis was handed to him to mark the surrender of the British.



WILLIAM MOULTRIE

Moultrie led a state militia to prevent the British from taking Charleston in 1776, earning the honour of having Fort Moultrie named after him. A POW after the siege, Moultrie was left in charge of the men during their captivity, but later used in a prisoner exchange. After the war he was elected South Carolina governor.



01 Crossing the Ashley

After landing near Charleston, on Simmons Island, on 11 February, British troops are ferried across the Ashley River on flat-bottomed boats, next landing on the Charleston peninsula on 29 March.

02 Siegeworks begin

The British begin constructing their first parallel of siege trenches on 1 April. It is completed in just six days and reinforced with redoubts. The British then begin construction of a second trench, and then a third, each time drawing closer to the city.

03 Arrival of American reinforcements

Of a larger force of 2,500 Virginia Continentals, 800 reach Charleston on 7-8 April, boosting the city's garrison. Clinton also sends word to New York for his own reinforcements.

04 The bombardment begins

British artillery opens fire on the American defences on 13 April. Though the guns take aim at the defensive walls, some shots miss their mark and fall within the city itself.

05 British reinforcements arrive

Days later, on 18 April, 2,500 more British, Hessian and Loyalist troops arrive from New York. Clinton uses this boost in his numbers to cut off the last escape route from Charleston, across the Cooper River

06 Outposts taken

British troops operating on the east bank of the Cooper River capture American positions including Fort Lampriers, tightening the noose on the city. A defensive canal protecting the city is also breached and drained, making way for a final assault.

Map by Rocio Espin

08 Lincoln surrenders
On 11 May, Benjamin Lincoln bows to the inevitable and surrenders his army and his city to the British. The Siege of Charleston is over.

07 The third parallel
Artillery is moved into the third parallel on 1 May and the British prepare for their final assault.

canal in front of the city had also been breached. It was now draining, opening the way for a final assault on the American lines.

Such an assault was a last resort for Clinton. Casualties would always be high in the attacking force, and he would much prefer the Americans to see the futility of further resistance. Still, he had to plan for an all-out attack and he once more called on Arbuthnot to assist. If the guns of Arbuthnot's fleet were turned on the city at the time of the attack, it would tie up American guns and defenders, making it a sensible and even obvious request from Clinton. Despite this, the admiral once more proved himself unwilling to get involved, offering only to move his ships to threaten the town.

The Americans were again invited to surrender, but Lincoln still insisted on terms that were simply unacceptable to Clinton. On 9 May the British unleashed their heaviest bombardment of the city so far and prepared to launch their final assault.

Almost at the last moment, the nerve of the civilian leaders in Charleston snapped. Although they had refused to allow Lincoln to attempt an evacuation of his best troops on 20 April, on 11 May they instructed the general to surrender.

The American resistance had been brave, but it had been futile and now the British were handed their largest success of the entire war. Charleston had fallen and Clinton expressed his relief that serious bloodshed had not been necessary.

AFTERMATH

In his account of the operation, Clinton revealed that the British had suffered only 268 casualties (with 99 of those being killed), while estimating American losses at a little more than 300 (they had an almost equal number of fatalities, at 89, and around 30 civilians had died as well). It was not an especially costly engagement in terms of casualties, but the Americans also saw nearly 6,000 men taken prisoner. They lost seven generals, and the British had a platform for putting their new southern strategy into effect.

In the immediate aftermath of the fall of Charleston, things progressed well for the British. Tarleton secured a victory at the Battle of Waxhaws, and Cornwallis then annihilated a large American army at the Battle of Camden. Tarleton added to his fearsome reputation when he killed 150 and captured 300 more at Fishing Creek, but after this things began to spiral out of control and the Americans secured important victories at King's Mountain and Cowpens (the latter of which saw Tarleton humbled).

Cornwallis then invaded North Carolina even though South Carolina was far from subdued. He won a costly victory at Guildford Courthouse, but was forced to withdraw to Yorktown, where he was bottled up by French and American forces and forced to surrender on 19 October 1781.

The fall of Charleston had been a major setback for the American cause, but just 19 months later the war was all but over.

What If...

JOAN OF ARC HAD NOT BROKEN THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS?

A teenage girl in armour, with a God-given vision of victory, held the fate of France in her hands

Interview by David J Williamson

INTERVIEW WITH

© SharonConnolly

SHARON BENNETT CONNOLLY

Sharon is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and best-selling author of *Heroines of the Medieval World*, *Silk and the Sword: The Women of the Norman Conquest*, and *Ladies of Magna Carta: Women of Influence in Thirteenth Century England*. Her fourth book, *Defenders of the Norman Crown: Rise and Fall of the Warenne Earls of Surrey*, was released in May 2021. She also writes the popular history blog, ***www.historythe interestingbits.com***.

The Hundred Years' War (1337 – 1453) raged on between England and France, with its complex and cutthroat world of royal claim and counterclaim over titles and land. Through all the manoeuvring of armies and political games of princes came a young woman with a message of simple faith and passion for her country. Her words would be an inspiration to all around her, and her courage would give real hope to all who wanted to free France from the grip of the English throne. The Siege of Orleans in 1429 would prove a pivotal moment to believe in, or doubt, Joan of Arc, and for the very future of France itself.

How strategically important was the siege and how may the war have been altered if it had not been broken by Joan of Arc?

Orleans was important for both France and for Joan of Arc. For Joan it was a test to prove that she could deliver on what she had promised. For France, it was the start of the fight back against the English occupation. Another victory at Patay in June 1429 saw the English routed; their reputation for invincibility was destroyed with the French achieving an impressive victory. The road was open for Joan's troops to advance on Paris and preparations could be made for the dauphin's coronation at Reims. It all started with Orleans.

A city that had been besieged for six months was freed in four days. Joan's lightning success established her credentials and her reputation. Had she failed at Orleans her career would have been short-lived indeed, and she may well have paid with her life. Having persuaded the dauphin to have faith in her, her failure would've been an embarrassment to him and he could have easily ordered her execution.

What unique qualities did Joan have, or what exceptional circumstances prevailed, which meant she could succeed where others had failed?

Joan had an inherent belief in her destiny and duty. In her early teens she began to experience visions and heard the voices of St Michael the Archangel, St Catherine of Alexandria and St Margaret of Antioch. While we are largely dismissive of such claims in the 21st century, in the early 15th century it was not unknown for maids to claim to be guided by saints and be believed. In a less scientific world, such events were received with far less cynicism. In May 1428, guided by her voices, Joan travelled to Vaucouleurs, the nearest garrison loyal to France and the dauphin, and asked the garrison commander, Robert de Baudricourt, for permission to join the dauphin. By January 1429, she had gained the respect

© Alamy

RIGHT
The Siege of Orleans would define Joan's success and her eventual fate

Main image source: © Alamy, © Getty Images

The Daily Gazette

YOUTH JAILED

Joan of Arc arrested for heresy

THE PAST

1425

VISIONS OF HOPE

At around the age of 12 or 13 Joan claimed to have first heard three voices of 'angels'. At first, they encouraged her to be pious, obedient and live a good Christian life, very much in the manner of her deeply religious mother. But as time went by the message changed. Now the voices, and in some cases visions, of the angels instructed Joan to rid France of its enemy the English, and to make sure the dauphin Charles was crowned king at Reims. Convinced she had been chosen by God for the task, Joan set out to accomplish her goal.

1429

KING MAKER

Despite a mix of scepticism and outright disbelief at Joan's claims, she used her unwavering faith and self-belief to persuade enough influential people to get an audience with the dauphin, Charles, heir to the throne of France. Charles in turn was not completely convinced by her, and had his ecclesiastical advisors question her extensively. It would seem, however, that he was willing to take a chance. Joan fulfilled her promise to lift the Siege of Orleans and also played a significant role in the crowning of the new King Charles VII at Reims, as she had predicted.

1431

MARTYR TO THE CAUSE

Joan's brief yet intense military career was not all plain sailing. She failed to take Paris but did succeed in liberating several towns from the English. But it was her capture by forces of the duke of Burgundy that was to lead to her downfall. Eventually put on ecclesiastical trial for heresy, the strength of her defence when questioned forced the proceedings be moved from public view into private session to save embarrassment for her inquisitors. Many charges were dropped, but ironically it was the heretical act of dressing like a man that stuck, resulting in Joan being sentenced to death and burnt at the stake.

of the people through her quiet firmness and piety, and she finally managed to persuade Baudricourt that she was neither a witch nor feebleminded. Charles was not the most pro-active of military leaders and it took the arrival of Joan of Arc to spur him into some sort of action. Joan was supremely confident in her position at the French court. Just two months after arriving, she wrote to the duke of Bedford, the English regent in France, ordering him to "hand over to the Maiden, who is sent by God the King of Heaven, the keys to all the towns which you have taken and violated in France. She has come here in the name of God to support the Royal Family [of France]. She is quite prepared to make peace, if you are willing to do right so long as you give up France and make amends for occupying it." That's an impressive amount of confidence for a teenage peasant!

How do you think she would have reacted if she'd failed to break the Siege of Orleans? What action would she have taken?

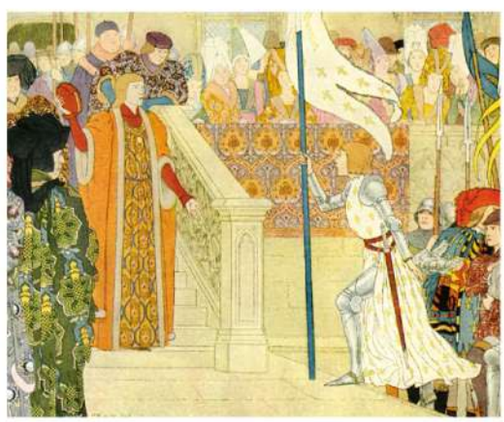
I don't think Joan would have seen failure as a possibility. She broke the siege in four days. It is possible that she could have taken longer, and that she may have needed reinforcements, but she had staked everything on taking Orleans – failure was not an option. The siege was broken by systematically taking the forts that the English had erected to encircle the city. If the French had not been able to do this, then other tactics could've been used, such as besieging the besiegers. The battle would've lasted longer and expended men and supplies, and would not have cemented Joan's reputation in quite the same way as breaking the siege in just four days did.

What was Joan's possible fate had she not broken the siege?

Had she not broken the siege, I am not sure she would have been given a second chance. She had told her interrogators at Poitiers that she would prove herself at Orleans – it was make or break for her. In medieval times, men were even more reluctant than nowadays to take orders from a woman – let alone an uneducated teenage peasant girl. The best she could have hoped for was to be sent home with an instruction to 'never come back'. The more likely outcome would have been execution for embarrassing the dauphin and the leaders of the French royal court.

How weakened would the French Church and Crown have been without Joan as a rallying point in the war?

I'm not sure France could have been weakened any more than it already was. Joan appeared at one of the lowest points in French history. At the time of her birth, France had endured years of intermittent warfare with successive English kings since Edward III had attempted to assert their claims to its crown. Civil war between the Armagnac and Burgundian factions at the French court had practically paralysed the country at the turn of the century, making her susceptible to renewed English aggression. Far from being a united country, a great part of France was made up of semi-independent duchies, such as Burgundy and Brittany, whose rulers often sided with the English against their French overlord. In the early 1400s France was ruled by Charles VI, a king with such mental problems that, at times, he thought that he was made of glass. English 'diplomacy' following their great victory at the Battle of Agincourt in October 1415 had persuaded Charles VI to disinherit his own son, the Dauphin Charles, and name Henry V of England as his heir. With Charles not being the most pro-active of military leaders, it is hard to see where a breakthrough could have been made had Joan of Arc not come along.



BELOW-LEFT
Some nobles were unhappy with Joan's role in the coronation of Charles VII

BELOW-RIGHT
Joan was strong and defiant at her trial

Was Joan truly a major influence on events and decisions, or just a puppet of the major players in the war?
The triumphs of Joan of Arc were remarkable due not only to the fact she was a simple country girl, but also because she was a teenager – and a girl! The king of France certainly considered her contribution to be significant and remarkable. In the last days of December 1429, he issued letters patent ennobling Joan, her parents and her brothers. She was a peasant no longer, and her whole family was given recognition for the contribution Joan had made to getting Charles crowned and to France's extraordinary recovery. She had done what no one else in France had been able to do: she had led the fight back against the English and given France and its king back their dignity. And yet she was still a pawn for powerful men in the greater conflict; the English saw her destruction as essential to victory over the French and Charles VII would not lift a finger to help her for fear it would jeopardise the brokering of peace with the duke of Burgundy.

How significant to subsequent events were Joan's trial and execution by the English and inevitable martyrdom by the French?
Joan's trial and execution was a political necessity if the English were ever to regain the upper hand in the war against France. Or, maybe, it was a sign of English desperation? They knew they were losing and were not going down without a fight.

ABOVE
A young Henry VI of England was crowned king of France but was never recognised by the French

Joan's death did not change the outcome of the war when all is said and done. An inquiry into her trial, in 1456, heard from those present at her execution, who said that they didn't doubt her salvation and that she died a faithful Christian. The inquiry had been ordered by Pope Callixtus III following appeals from Joan's family. Charles VII had conducted an initial inquiry in 1450 but the pope's hearings went further, revoking and annulling the 1431 sentence; Joan was innocent. However, she would not be canonised until the 20th century – on 16 May 1920 Pope Benedict XV declared her a saint with her feast day on 30 May, the date of her death. Joan of Arc is the epitome of the medieval heroine. It is incredible to think what she achieved at such an early age, in so short a time; her story takes up less than three years of French history and yet it resonates through the ages. Her military career lasted just 18 months but, in that time, she took numerous towns and cities, her greatest achievement being the relief of Orleans, which secured the loyalty of much of northern France to the French crown. She revitalised the French army and people, saw her king crowned, almost took Paris, and put France on the road that would eventually see it victorious in the Hundred Years' War. With no formal military training she led armies into battle at 17. With no education, she advised her king on policy and military tactics, and managed to hold her own against the greatest theologians her enemies could bring against her.

THE POSSIBILITY

1429

FROM DAUPHIN TO NOTHING

It could be argued that, with all his dithering in the face of the English threat, without the passionate drive of Joan of Arc the future Charles VII may never have become king at all. Her belief in divine intervention was the driving force behind his coronation, having safely escorted him through enemy territory to make it happen just the way she'd been told by the angels. A weak dauphin, without Joan's success at Orleans to prove God was on his side, would have been an easy target for the English to cement their claim to the throne.

1444

A VERY DIFFERENT DYNASTY

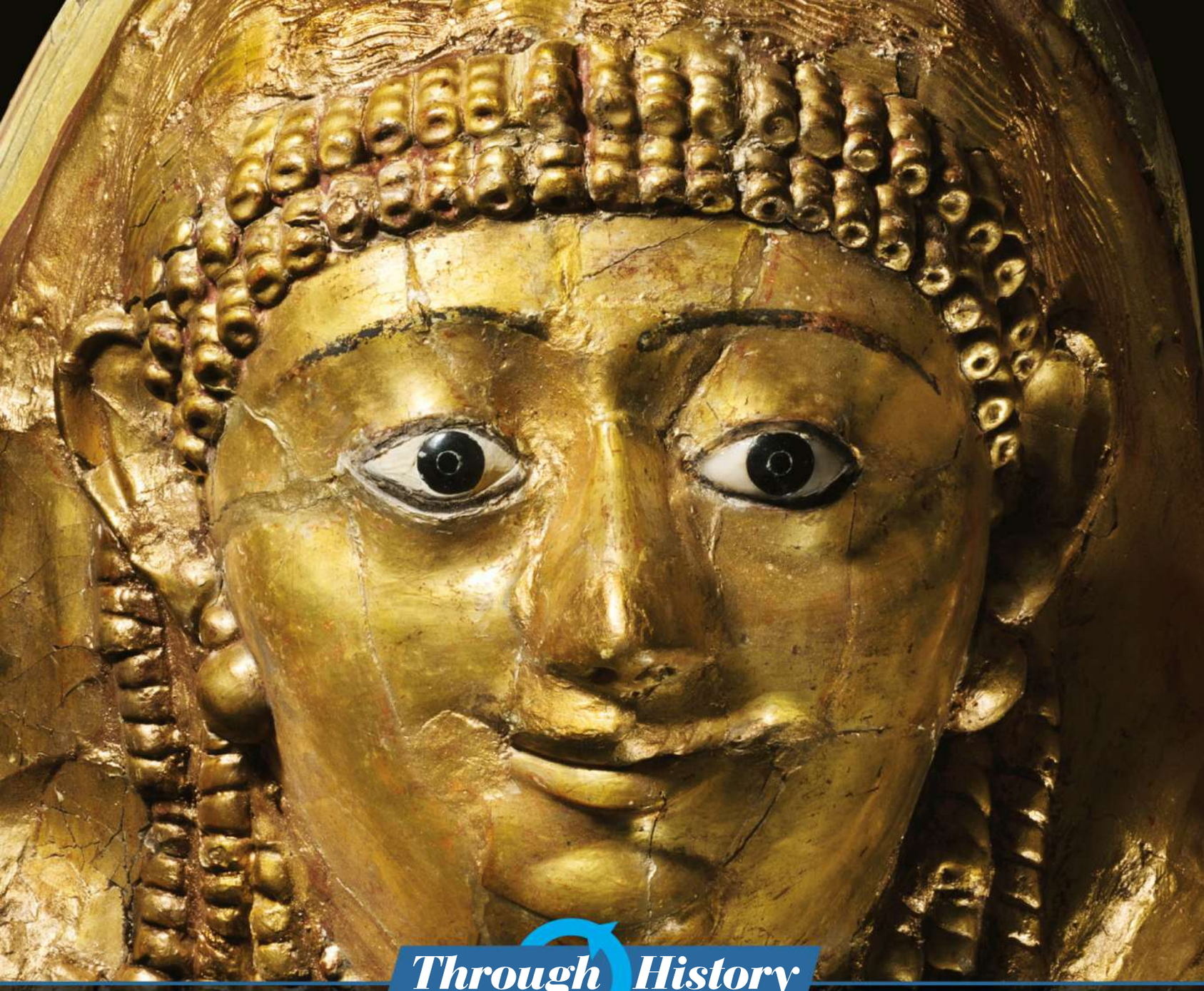
A truce between the English and French caused rejoicing on both sides, but a marriage between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou – a niece of Charles VII by marriage – could seal the deal. But if Orleans had not fallen, and the war had gone the way of the English, such a marriage may not have been necessary. If Henry had married someone else, then the possibilities of his heirs creating an altogether different dynastic path in history is possible. If so, then there may have been no Wars of the Roses, no Richard III, and even no Tudors!

1453 ONWARDS

UNITED KINGDOM OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

With the claim of Charles VII not successful, the English with the upper hand, and an English king of both England and France, there would have been far more possibilities for a firm English grip on France, both in land and power, rather than the fractured pieces of territory and shallow title future monarchs would inherit. Their joint resources would have proved troublesome for other powers in Europe, particularly Spain, giving the English throne far greater influence far sooner than was the case in reality.

All images: © Alamy



Through History

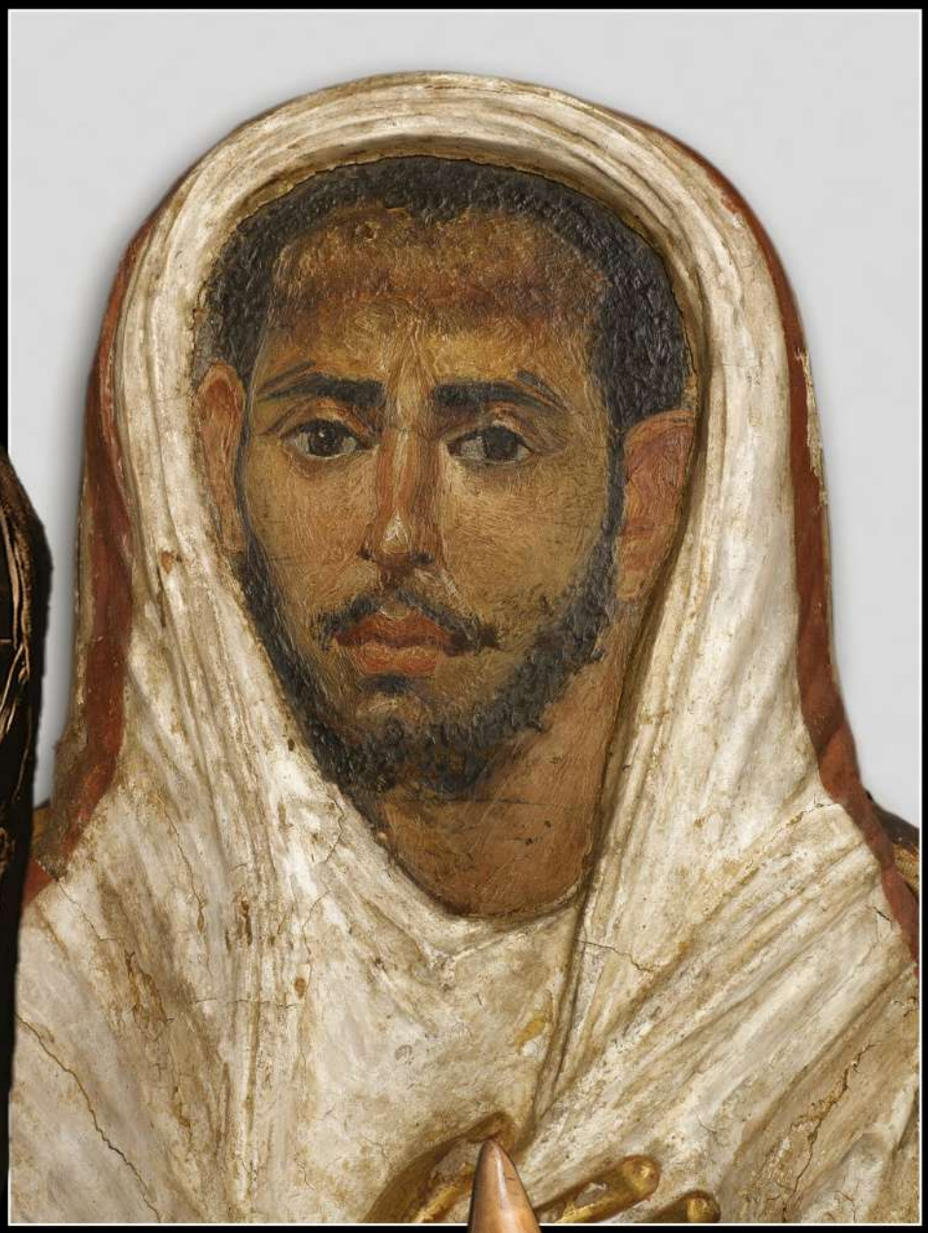
GOLDEN MUMMIES

Reconsidering Egypt's mummies and history in a new context

Since 1912, the Egyptian Gallery at Manchester Museum has been delighting visitors with an array of artefacts and objects from across Egypt. Much of the exhibit was acquired from the Egyptian site of Hawara during a time when British explorers and archeologists were preoccupied with collecting antiquities from across the colonies. Today, the museum's mission is to use these pieces to challenge and interrogate imperialism and colonialism. With Manchester Museum reopening after a £15 million refurbishment, the Egyptian collection is available to view in a new exhibition.

Golden Mummies of Egypt explores Egyptian history from the Graeco-Roman period and features artefacts that showcase Egypt's multicultural heritage. As the first international touring exhibition from the museum it has attracted over 450,000 visitors during its stretch in both the USA and China. Dr Campbell Price, the museum's curator of Egypt and Sudan, says: "Originally these extraordinary objects were considered within the Victorian context in which they came to the museum. Our exhibition aims to highlight how this history has informed pervading modern interpretations of life and death during an era when Egypt was part of the Greek and Roman worlds."

All images: Courtesy of Manchester Museum

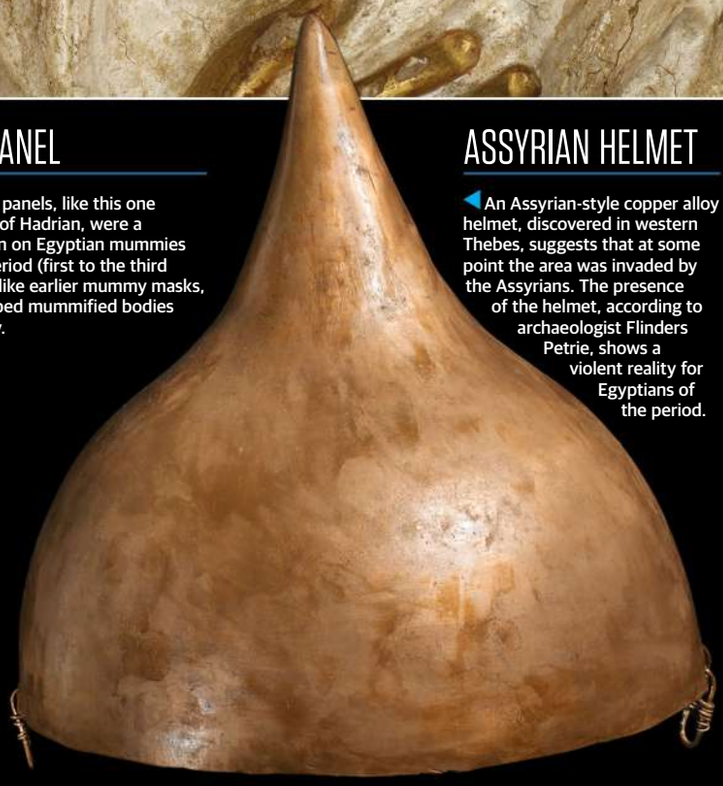


PORTRAIT PANEL

▲ Painted portrait panels, like this one dating to the reign of Hadrian, were a common decoration on Egyptian mummies from the Roman period (first to the third century CE). Much like earlier mummy masks, these portraits helped mummified bodies retain their identity.

ASSYRIAN HELMET

◀ An Assyrian-style copper alloy helmet, discovered in western Thebes, suggests that at some point the area was invaded by the Assyrians. The presence of the helmet, according to archaeologist Flinders Petrie, shows a violent reality for Egyptians of the period.



GOLD MUMMY OF A CHILD

◀ This mummy of a young girl was discovered at the site of Hawara and dates to the first century CE. The gold gilt was intended to imitate the radiance of the gods in the hope of resurrection.

REBIRTH AFTER DEATH

▲ Possibly discovered in the town of Kharga Oasis, this is the upper part of the cartonnage of a woman's mummy. This cartonnage was designed to highlight the woman's sexuality in the hope it would aid rebirth in the afterlife.

CARTONNAGE COVERING

◀ This artefact from Hawara is an example of cartonnage: the layering of papyrus or fibres to cover a mummified body. As seen in this object, cartonnage provided a smooth surface onto which motifs were painted to create elaborate and beautiful designs.

MUMMY MASK

▶ The styled curled hair and earrings present on this artefact indicate that it was a mask made for the mummy of a woman. It was discovered in Lahun, an Egyptian village excavated by archaeologist Flinders Petrie in the late 19th century.

Golden Mummies of Egypt

The exhibition is open now at the newly refurbished Manchester Museum

GILDED MASK

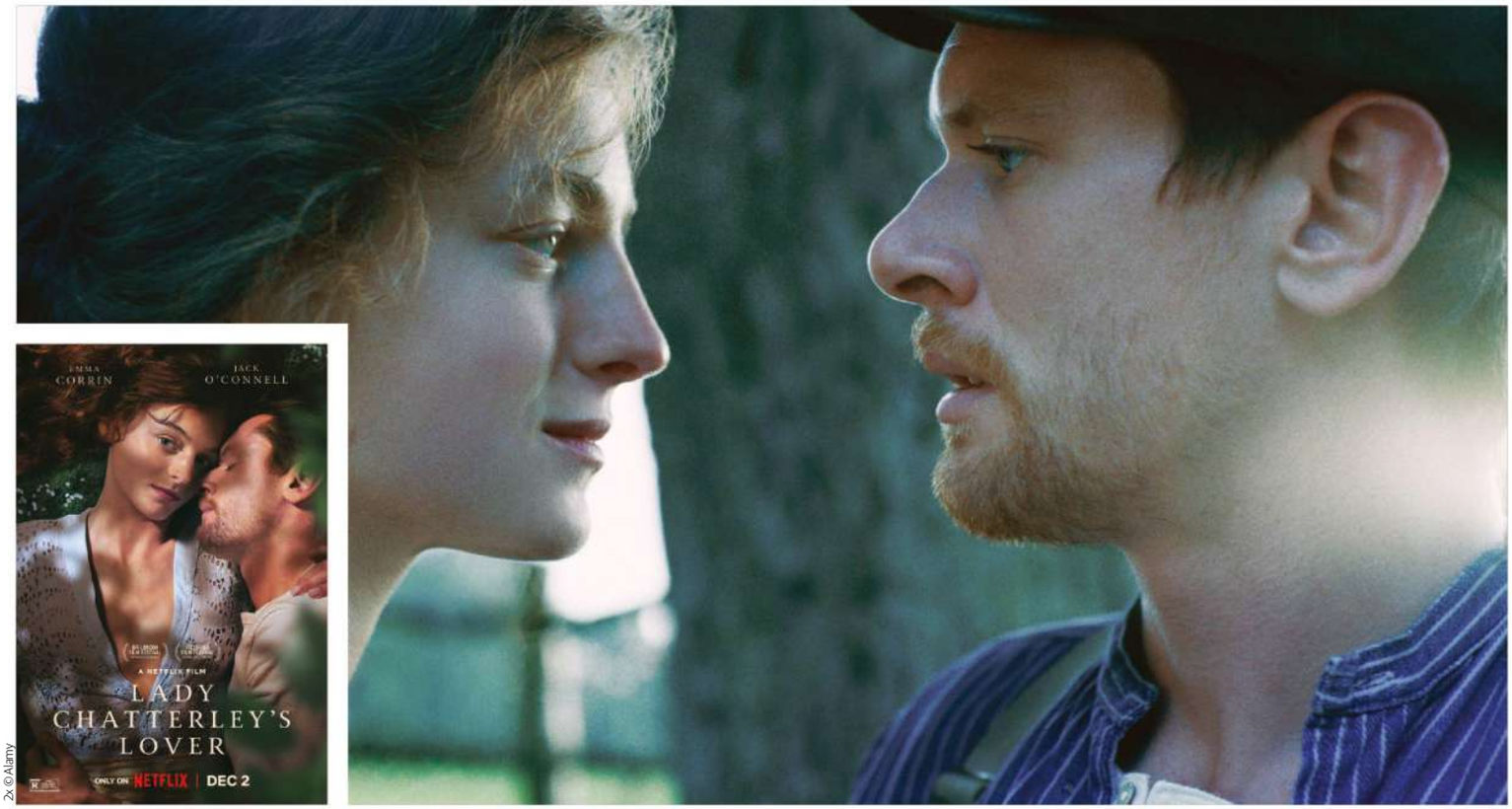
Though this mask has been restored in more modern times, it is a striking example of a gilded mask for an Egyptian mummy. This mask of a man features a headdress with painted Pharaonic deities on the side.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINE

Depicting a woman, perhaps a female deity, with a sedan being carried by two male attendants, this terracotta figurine was found at Hawara. Many terracotta figures like this one have been identified as having Hellenistic features, showing Greek influence in Egypt.

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month



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LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER

An exhilarating and intoxicating new take on DH Lawrence's erotic classic

Director: Laure de Clermont-Tonnerre **Cast:** Emma Corrin, Jack O'Connell, Matthew Duckett **Released:** Out now

DH Lawrence's 1928 novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* has always been a controversial tome. In Britain it was the subject of an obscenity trial and publisher Penguin was forced to prove the book was of literary merit. Penguin won and the case is considered something of a landmark moment in the history of British publishing. But in the United States, Australia, India, Japan and Canada this raunchy tale of an upper-class lady's affair with a servant was banned. Now, Laure de Clermont-Tonnerre (director of the 2019 film *The Mustang*) has helmed a new and inspiring version of the tale.

She certainly prioritises style over substance, though the script by David Magee is solid and entertaining enough. Clermont-Tonnerre fills the screen with intoxicating images, particularly emphasising the beauty of nature versus the dark and dank interior of the mansion. Isabella Summers' soundtrack, while occasionally intrusive, is highly engaging. Summers mixes an eclectic variety of styles, from the usual violin themes appropriate to a period piece to sounds that wouldn't be out of place in a horror film, all to mesmerising effect. Combined with Benoît Delhomme's gorgeous cinematography, they create a unique, almost 'folk', feel that adds an exhilarating freshness to this adaptation.

Of course due to its source material's scandalous history, with any new version attention is immediately going to be drawn to its depiction of sex. Clermont-Tonnerre has approached these sequences with the care of a master painter and many of the shots wouldn't look out of place in a gallery. They are erotic, beautiful and strangely freeing - managing to visualise the story's rich themes.

Emma Corrin (perhaps best known for her portrayal of Princess Diana in Netflix's *The Crown*) plays the titular Lady Chatterley. Corrin recently appeared in the disappointing *My Policeman* but fares much better here. Although the film is most certainly a romance, Magee's screenplay also puts a great deal of focus on Chatterley's growing disillusionment with the British upper class, giving Corrin a number of meaty scenes and moments. Corrin throws herself into the part with an powerful and believable energy.

Jack O'Connell as Oliver Mellors gets significantly less to do but manages to portray Mellors as an object of desire in his few scenes. Matthew Duckett is intensely unlikeable as Clifford but manages to keep the character, and therefore his various evils, intensely human, without turning him into a caricature. Joely Richardson, who previously played Chatterley herself, is one of the standouts as Mrs Bolton.

Admittedly, it could be accused of dragging in a few moments but the film has a hypnotic power that draws you in and holds you. The cast do a superb job but it is Clermont-Tonnerre's direction, Delhomme's cinematography and Summers' score that are the real stand outs. *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is an exceptional adaptation of a classic and important work of English literature. ***CM***

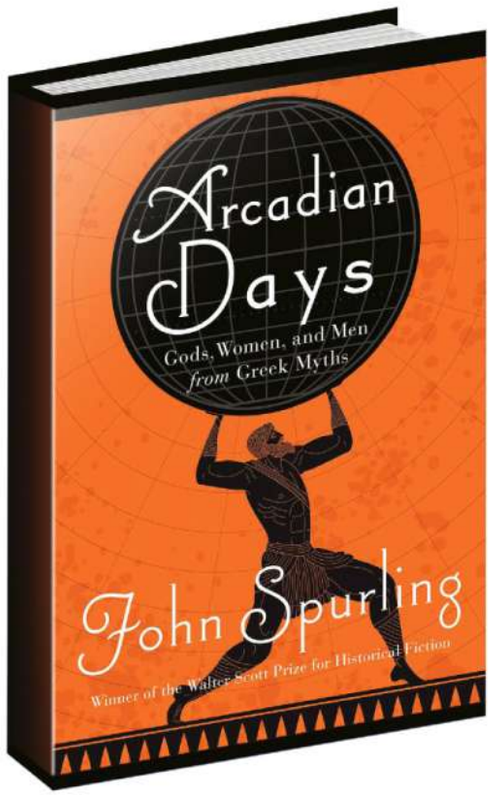
★★★★☆

Reviews by
Callum McKelvie, Emily Staniforth, Jonathan Gordon

ARCADIAN DAYS

An innovative retelling of some of Ancient Greece's myths

Author: John Spurling **Publisher:** Pegasus Books **Price:** $27.95
Released: 7 March 2023

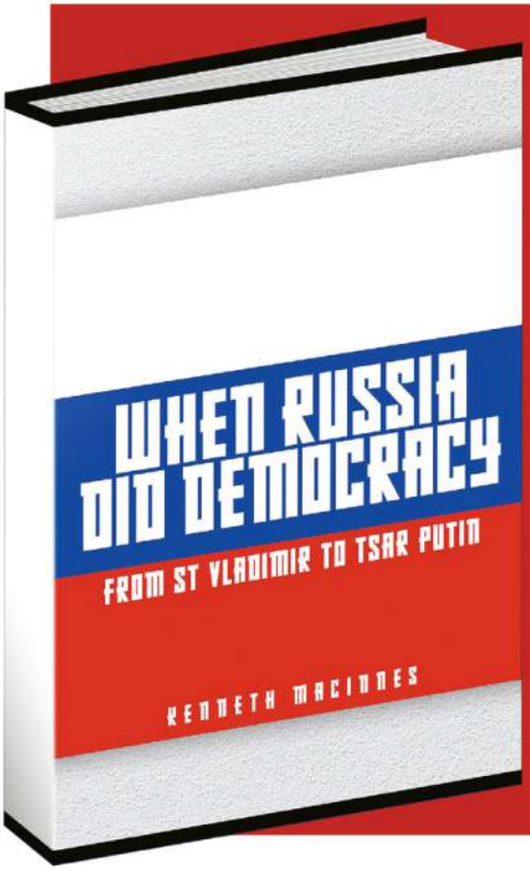

Arcadian Days
Gods, Women, and Men from Greek Myths
John Spurling
Winner of the Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction

Ancient Greek mythology has captivated audiences for millennia. The fantastical stories of gods and goddesses, titans and nymphs, heroes and monsters, which were so real to the Greeks who worshipped the Olympian pantheon, have achieved longevity right through to the present day. In his new book, playwright and novelist John Spurling has taken five pairs of Greek mythology's greatest figures and delved into their stories to create a compelling retelling of some of the most well-known tales.

Spurling splits the book into sections, taking the male-female pairs of Prometheus and Pandora, Jason and Medea, Oedipus and Antigone, Achilles and Thetis, and Odysseus and Penelope as the title characters for each chapter. He dissects the myths and legends associated with these characters and explores stories like Prometheus' punishment from Zeus, the journey of Jason and the Argonauts and the voyages of Odysseus within the broader context of the lives of these figures.

In his almost-conversational style, Spurling entices the reader into this magical world. His expert knowledge of the Greek legends shines as he guides us through not only the myths but also the historiography with which he highlights the inconsistencies and evolution of the stories over time. Spurling also effortlessly weaves his personal musings on history, poetry, drama and human nature, which allows the reader to analyse and look at these stories from a new perspective. For those interested in Ancient Greece and mythology, this is certainly a book that needs to be added to your reading list. ***ES***

★★★★★



WHEN RUSSIA DID DEMOCRACY

A political history of Russia, from medieval Rus to Putin

Author: Kenneth MacInnes **Publisher:** Amberley Publishing **Price:** £22.99
Released: Out now

This reflection on the many instances, large and small, of a democratic process being brought to the people of Russia over the centuries is timely and concise. From the medieval Rus to Vladimir Putin, MacInnes seeks to offer an overview of Russian history through its ballot boxes, parliaments, referendums and constitutions.

There are two key ideas that seem to have fuelled this book for MacInnes. The first is learning in school about the Russian Revolution and the single day that the Constituent Assembly sat before being closed by the Bolsheviks in 1918 as a singular experiment in democracy. The second is the often repeated idea that Russia is ill-suited to democracy. MacInnes offers multiple examples of the many attempts by Russia and its neighbouring states to implement democratic processes of one kind or another. In some cases, they were well ahead of Western democracies (Russian women voted in 1917, a year before their right to vote in the UK and three years before the USA). What we also see is the strong association between regional national movements and democracy, particularly in the later-Soviet era.

We close on the period MacInnes got to witness first hand, living and working in Russia, of the rebuilding work in the 1990s and the rise of Putin in the early 2000s. Those hoping for a deep-dive into Putin's politics might be disappointed. While his story closes the book, its main focus is on what came before, pointing to the paths not taken, the opportunities squandered. ***JG***

★★★★½

Book of the Inquisition

False accusations. Torture. Death by fire. These are the images that spring to mind when one thinks of the Inquisition, but just how violent was this war against heresy? And how did it end? Uncover the answers to these questions and many more as you step back into an age obsessed with witchcraft, eternal damnation and spiritual purity.

Buy the *Book of the Inquisition* in shops or online at **magazinesdirect.com Price:** £15.99

HISTORY OF WAR **RECOMMENDS...**

The Man with Miraculous Hands

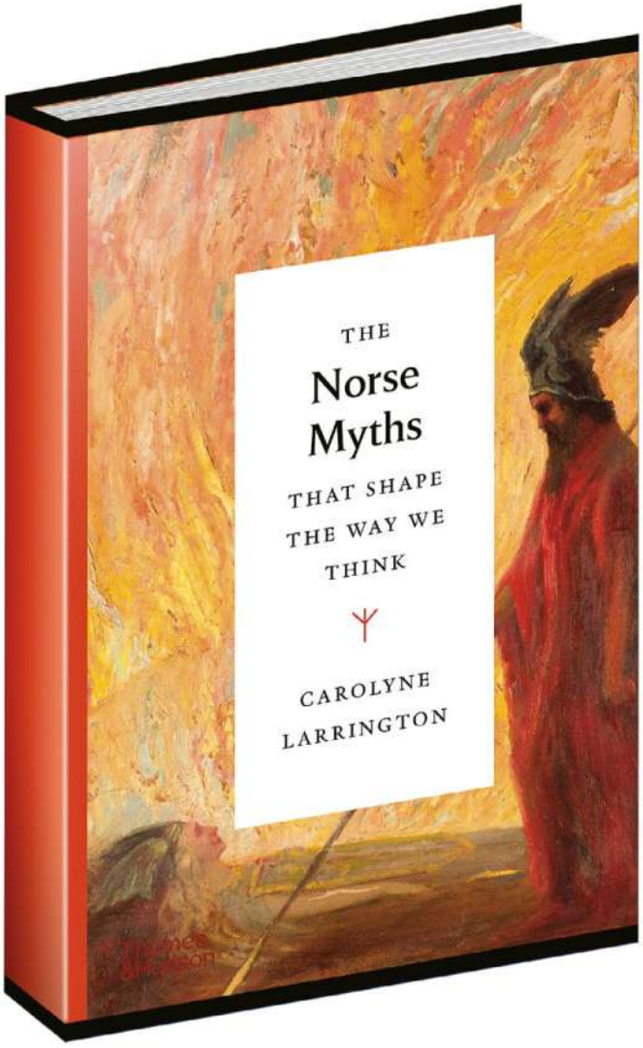
Author Joseph Kessel **Price** £20 **Publisher** Elliott & Thompson

The remarkable story of Dr Felix Kersten reveals some of the most astonishing and largely unknown inner workings of Nazi Germany and one of its most notorious wartime leaders. Kersten came to be the main restraining force in Heinrich Himmler's entourage. He was a Baltic German who found himself reluctantly pulled into the Nazi corridors of power to serve as Himmler's personal therapist. Kersten dominated Himmler to the extent of saving hundreds of thousands of human lives.

THE NORSE MYTHS THAT SHAPE THE WAY WE THINK

The ancient Norse myths effect on western society and culture explored

Author: Carolyne Larrington **Publisher:** Thames & Hudson **Price:** £20 **Released:** 2 March 2023



"A fascinating and intriguing look at Norse mythology"

How many of us are *really* familiar with the Norse myths of old? It would perhaps be fair to argue not that many. Sure, we know the names Loki and Thor, but is it fair to suggest that most people first conjure images of Chris Hemsworth and Tom Hiddleston when they hear those names? Upon reading Carolyne Larrington's new book, you might find that you recognise more of these ancient Norse legends than you would first think...

The book follows on from a number of *Myths That Shape The Way We Think* titles published by Thames & Hudson, including works focusing on Greek and Roman legends. In the latest in the series, Norse myth expert Larrington seeks to explore how the Norse myths have been reimagined over the centuries, touching on everything from George RR Martin's White Walkers to the storming of the United States Capitol building in 2021.

Some of these associations (particularly the latter) might, to the uninitiated, at first seem like something of a jump, but Larrington makes her points eloquently. She chooses to structure the book myth by myth, usually first explaining the narrative and then exploring chronologically how the myth itself or elements of it have been reinterpreted over time. Even at the conclusion when bringing in the climate crisis, her arguments are sound and compelling.

Larrington is no stranger to exploring the historical origins of fantasy. A self-confessed *Game of Thrones* fan, her previous book *Winter is Coming* delved deep into the medieval-inspired world of the popular book and television series. She has also previously written extensively about Norse myths, authoring *A Critical Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre* and *The Norse Myths: A Guide to Viking and Scandinavian Gods and Heroes*, among others.

Larrington's expertise is apparent from the outset and her knowledge of the subject is staggering. Her prose style is light and certainly not academic, making *The Norse Myths That Shape The Way We Think* instantly accessible to readers unfamiliar with the topic. However, this does not mean that her writing is simplistic – far from it – and her discussion is highly intelligent and considered.

There is a wealth of beautiful illustrations – 99 in total – both full-colour and black-and-white. These range from 19th century paintings to images of historical artefacts to stills from Marvel's epic *Thor: Ragnarok* (2017). Some of these are more impactful than others, with the infamous picture of Jake Agnelli from 2021's political turmoil in the US adding immensely to that particular argument's weight.

The Norse Myths That Shape The Way We Think is a compelling examination of the power and influence of these ancient legends and the continuing effect they have on contemporary society and culture. Touching on a surprisingly wide array of topics, Larrington manages to present her arguments in an intelligent yet accessible manner. Sure to please anyone with even a passing interest in mythology, this is an interesting and engaging piece of work. ***CM***

★★★★☆

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

THE LOST CITY OF Z

Director: James Gray **Starring:** Charlie Hunnam, Robert Pattinson, Sienna Miller **Country:** USA **Year:** 2016

Was Percy Fawcett the heroic explorer of this film or a foolhardy fantasist?

VERDICT: The overarching details are correct, but are played heavily for dramatic effect

01 The film follows Percy Fawcett (Hunnam) and his search for a city in the Amazonian rainforest he dubbed Z. It depicts him as initially reluctant to give up military glory for work as a surveyor. In reality he'd been in the Royal Geographical Society since 1900.

02 It shows three expeditions taken by Fawcett between 1906 and 1925, but he actually made eight. One was with James Murray, the polar explorer, who is accurately shown accusing Fawcett of leaving him to die in the jungle when he couldn't keep up.

03 Fawcett gives a speech about the possibility of an early South American civilisation where he defends the native communities. This speech is fictional and Fawcett, while more respectful of Amazonian tribes, was still racist and condescending in his writing.

04 The film shows Nina (Miller) wanting to join her husband on his expeditions, but being refused. This appears to be a genuine wish of hers, not least because she believed in the equality of women and was well-educated, speaking multiple languages.

05 Fawcett is depicted as reluctant to go on the last mission, but is persuaded by his son Jack (Tom Holland). In fact, he recruited his son and Jack's friend Raleigh Rimmell, who is not shown in the film. They vanish five months into their trip and are never found.

All images: © Alamy

Did you know?

If using epis, you can wash the meat in the citrus, drain and then marinade in epis mixture separately.

Main image: © Alamy
Inset image: © Getty Images

GRIYO

A CLASSIC BRAISED PORK DISH, HAITI, 19TH CENTURY – PRESENT

A few different dishes can lay claim to being Haiti's national food and Griyo (sometimes Griot) has a strong case among them. A pork dish, often served with pickled cabbage or fried plantain, it has its roots in West Africa. This is little surprise since it was West African men and women who were enslaved and brought to Haiti to work on its plantations during the transatlantic slave trade.

The name itself even appears to derive from the term Griot and Griottes, which was used in West Africa for people who told stories, sang and played music, holding a high status in the community. This dish was also reserved for high-status people, since ingredients like pork were hard to come by. However, as meat became more available to all classes, the dish became a staple of Haitian cooking.

Ingredients

- 700g of pork shoulder, cubed
- 1 onion, chopped
- 1 bell pepper, sliced
- 3 garlic cloves, sliced
- 1 scotch bonnet pepper, sliced
- 1/2 cube of chicken bouillon
- 15ml of white wine vinegar
- 4 cloves
- 7 sprigs fresh thyme
- Small bunch fresh parsley
- 4 sprigs of fresh rosemary
- 1 lime, juiced
- 1 orange, juiced
- 240ml of water

METHOD

01 Add the cubed pork, onion, pepper, scotch bonnet, garlic, chicken bouillon cube, white wine vinegar, cloves, thyme, parsley, rosemary, salt, pepper, orange juice and lime juice to a large mixing bowl or, better, a Dutch oven (you'll be cooking it in this later).

02 Mix ingredients together to create the marinade for the pork. We recommend using gloves because of the scotch bonnet. The marinade can also be made with epis, which is a blend of peppers, garlic and herbs traditionally used in Haiti, if you can find it. That can replace most of the vegetables here.

03 Once the pork has been thoroughly covered in the marinade, cover the bowl or pot and put it in the refrigerator for at least four hours, or overnight if possible.

04 Pre-heat your oven to 180ºC (350ºF, gas mark 4). Place the pot/Dutch oven on the hob and begin to heat. Add the water and bring to the boil. Once boiling, move the pot to the oven for 1 hour and 30 minutes or until the pork is tender.

05 Pick out the pieces of pork and place on a tray lined with paper towels to pat them dry, getting rid of as much moisture as possible. (We're about to fry, so this is important to stop spluttering in the oil.)

06 Heat a pot or skillet of oil and fry the pork in batches (so as not to overcrowd the pan), browning evenly. It should take about 5-7 minutes. Remove and drain on paper towels.

07 Serve with rice and beans, fried plantains or pickled veg relish.

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